

Saturday Night

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FEBRUARY 4TH 1961 20 CENTS



LIBERALS: Reformers or Reactionaries?

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Saturday Night

VOL. 76 NO. 3

ESTABLISHED 1887

WHOLE NO. 3384

Editor:
Arnold Edinborough

Managing Editor:
Herbert McManus

Business Editor:
R. M. Baiden

Assistant Editor:
Alan Mercer

Contributing Editors: John A. Irving, Mary Lowrey Ross, Kenneth McNaught (International Affairs), John Gellner (Military Affairs), Edwin Copps (Vancouver), Anthony West (New York), Beverley Nichols (London), Raymond Spencer Rodgers (Ottawa).

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INSIDE STORY

THE COVER: Scenic background for the leaders at Ottawa's Liberal Rally.

Dale C. Thomson, who reviews the Liberal Rally, was secretary to **Louis St. Laurent** from 1953 to 1958 and is now teaching at the University of Montreal. His book *Alexander Mackenzie; Clear Grit* was recently published by Macmillan and is to be the March choice of the Readers Club.

"It is odd, in a way," writes Professor **Graham George** of Queen's University, "that we, as Canadians, mistrust the ballet. For this art is earthy; earthy and down to earth — and so are we". This is his relaxed approach to a review of the recent performances of Britain's Royal Ballet at the O'Keefe Centre in Toronto; his critical appraisal, however, shows a wide, sympathetic and scholarly knowledge. For Dame **Margot Fonteyn**, full marks; for the arrangers of her programs, none.

Contributing editor, **John Gellner** sees a curious parallel between the economic troubles of Belgium, which led to the recent vicious rioting, and those of Canada. He finds the same diversity of races and the same headaches after an era of unprecedented prosperity and expansion.

The checkoff — the process by which an employer collects union dues for a union — is having a curious effect on the prospects of Canada's New Party. **Frank Drea**, labor reporter for the *Toronto Telegram*, describes the struggle against the will of a minority being imposed.

The OTTAWA LETTER tells of the impact of three provincial Premiers — two outspoken Grits, **Smallwood** of Newfoundland and **Robichaud** of New Brunswick, and the little man who wasn't there, **Douglas** of Saskatchewan — on leftward-leaning Liberals . . . **Arnold Edinborough**, in BOOKS, reviews the early days of exploration in Africa as seen in **Alan Moorehead's** brilliant new book *The White Nile* . . . **Beverley Nichols**, in his LONDON LETTER, becomes quite indignant over what he considers the low quality of the recipients of New Year's Honors.

President and Publisher: Jack Kent Cooke; Vice-Presidents, Hal E. Cooke, Neil M. Watt, E. R. Milling; Circulation Manager, Arthur Phillips. **Director of Advertising:** Donald R. Shepherd. Branch Office, Suite 707, Drummond Building, 1117 St. Catherine St. West, Montreal. Representatives: New York, Donald Cooke, Inc., 666 Fifth Avenue; Chicago, Adrian Boylston, 520 South Prospect Park Ridge, Ill.; Los Angeles, Lee F. O'Connell Co., 111 North La Cienega Blvd., Beverly Hills, Cal.; San Francisco, Theodore B. Hall, Lee F. O'Connell Co., 681 Market St.; London, Eng., Dennis W. Mayes Ltd., 69 Fleet St., E. C. 4. **Subscription Prices:** Canada \$4.00 one year; \$6.00 two years; \$8.00 three years; \$10.00 four years. Commonwealth countries and U.S.A. \$5.00 per year; all others \$6.00. Newsstand and single issues 20c. Authorized as second class mail, Post Office Department, Ottawa. Published every second Saturday by Consolidated Press Division, 73 Richmond St. West, Toronto 1, Canada.

PICTURE CREDITS: Cover, Fednews; Page 7, Fednews; Pages 8, 9, Fednews, Department of National Defence, Capital Press; Pages 10, 11, Kuch, Winnipeg Free Press, Fednews; Pages 12, 13, The Royal Ballet; Pages 14, 15, 16, Wide World; Page 17, Alan Mercer, Press Information Service; Page 19, B & I Photography; Page 22, Karsh, Capital Press; Page 24, CFTO-TV; Page 25, Hamish Hamilton; Page 28, Beaver Films, Continental Distributing Inc.; Page 29, United Kingdom Information Service, Miller Service; Page 36, Alberta Government Photograph.

Letters

Stevenson & Minifie

It is a pity Professor McNaught's argument for an independent Canadian policy in his article on Castro's Cuba [SN Jan. 21] was vitiated by an erroneous reference to Adlai Stevenson.

The error was compounded in the illustration to the article.

Stevenson attacked James Minifie's book, *Peacemaker or Powder Monkey*, in two speeches and in private conversation during the day he spent in Toronto, but at no time did he admit that he had not read it.

On the contrary, he showed a rather comprehensive grasp of the Minifie thesis. It was I who asked him at the press conference whether he had read Minifie. For answer, he drew a copy of the book from his suitcase and pointed to passages he had marked. Later he said he wanted to return to the book to reread it.

I was with Stevenson for most of the day. A good deal of our conversation concerned growing anti-Americanism in Canada. It was obvious from his many references to *Powder Monkey* that he knew the book intensively and extensively.

If, as Professor McNaught contends, there are signs that the Kennedy administration will be as myopic as its predecessor in relations with Canada, the professor's misinformation is a sign of eagerness on this side of the border to put obstacles in the way of curing U.S. near-sightedness.

Professor McNaught has committed the error of which he wrongfully accuses Stevenson, that of commenting publicly on a matter about which he does not have first-hand information.

TORONTO

REUBEN SLONIM
The Telegram

That Last Word

In your January 7 issue [Comment of the Day] there is an article headed "The Silly Professors," in which you criticize people who write newspapers and do not sign their name or if they do, ask that it be withheld.

I agree with your criticism of the unsigned letter but not of those who request their name withheld. There are many people — just as heroic as members of the newspaper trade—who just don't like having their names appearing in the press and often in a one-sided and unfavorable light. For example I have often seen let-

ters to the editor of a morning paper wherein the writer criticized or showed the error of statements of the editor, and his letter was postscripted by a caustic and often lame rebuttal by the editor — last word type of stuff.

Let me say, however, how much I like your vigorous comments and interesting articles. Your last issue in particular, with its look backward and forwards, was very informative. You deserve increased circulation and I hope you get it.

TORONTO

GEORGE W. FURNESS

The Editorial Word

You might remove the beam from your eye and publish the name of the writer of such an immature editorial [The Silly Professors].

Anonymity is a product of our way of life. It has helped to solve crimes and expose many injustices. It is the basis of the secret ballot.

Outside of a few columnists and feature writers, one is seldom aware of the identity of those who compose the editorials that are read by the public as well as cabinet ministers.

It seems ironical that these same men should refer to intellectual economists as "gutless wonders". After all, these learned men have every right to seek some protection, if not for themselves then for other members of their family. Everyone has some vulnerable point.

If you and your staff still believe that anonymity is wrong, then you could be the frontiersman of the crusade by printing the name of the writer beneath each of your editorials.

BRIGHT'S GROVE, ONT.

A. G. STIRRETT

Editor's Note: Editorials reflect the views of the publication, not of the man. That is why they are not individually signed. The responsibility for all editorials is, however, the editor's and his name is clearly displayed in every issue of SN.

The Brave Professors

As one of the lucky two whom you exempt from the charge of cowardice, I write in defence of the other signers of the university economists' letter to the Minister of Finance about Mr. Coyne.

You claim in an editorial [SN Jan. 7] that only Professor Neufeld and myself have explained our position to the public. Presumably you read only your own pub-

lication, for Professors Britnell, Buckley, English, Gordon, Hartle, Safarian, Sands and Watkins have also written accounts of their views which have been published since the appearance of the letter. I have no list of such statements and more may exist.

Professors Gordon, Neufeld, Read, Stykolt and myself wrote analyses critical of the policies of the Bank of Canada in the past two or three years for the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* and other less learned publications. Thus, "even journalists", to use your words, can find guides provided by the signers on the manner in which "the mess can be cleared up" if they read what is available.

Your allegation that the signers gave the letter to the press is also false.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

H. C. EASTMAN

Department of Political Economy

Cheers for Coyne

Your editorial "The Silly Professors" [SN Jan. 7] in which the acumen of the anti-Coyne academe is publicly challenged merits the heartiest accolade of Canadians.

What thoughtful layman has not applauded the refreshing approach of Governor James E. Coyne in this complex field? Moreover, for many graduates in political economy the tone of the criticism against Governor Coyne will loom as a mockery of at least one established principle of central banking, viz. the technique of "moral suasion" among other "confidence-planning" measures.

As a substitute for moral leadership his critics apparently offer reinstatement of the pegged Bank Rate despite its submissive tendencies historically. That the New York Federal Reserve Bank with sad futility manipulated America's pegged discount rate 17 times in the five years (1929-1934) prior to New Deal policies, while the German financier Hjalmar Schacht "abandoned the Central Bankers' so-called classic discount policy" (Schacht: "My First Seventy-Six Years," Allan Wingate, London, 1955) is of no small consequence in the present Canadian debate.

Insulated from the perils of the "open economy" the stationary discount policies of Germany's fascist regime easily reached fruition, based largely on the morass of international trade during the Great Depression.

If this reasoning is valid then the intricacies of guiding Canada's floating Bank Rate and its floating exchange rate

harmoniously — a bold experiment in multilateral finance — must be weighed in the light of current frictions in international trade relationships. Yet curiously, as demonstrated by Professor Eastman's analysis [SN Jan. 7], the Governor's crucial discussion on trade and external liabilities seemingly violates monetary protocol.

The forward nature of Governor Coyne's proposals which your fine editorial acknowledges already is vindicated in the interim federal budget. May I also justify his moral service in terms of the probable shift of world capital resources from direct investment in Canada towards the newly autonomous economies in Africa, Asia and South America; not to mention the initiative now thrust upon Canadians to devise a proper money market.

VICTORIA

HOWARD THORNTON

Still Mad

By resolution of the Killarney and District Chamber of Commerce at its last regular meeting the writer was instructed to write you strongly protesting the derogatory use of the words "tiny" and "scant" as they refer to the town and business section of Killarney, in an article written by freelancer Warner Troyer [SN Dec. 24].

The "tiny" town of Killarney has a population of over 1,600 and serves a mixed farming area second-to-none in Manitoba. The "scant" business section visited by Premier Roblin did a gross business amounting to almost four (4) millions of dollars in 1959 and 1960 figures point up a considerable increase. Manufacturing amounted to a figure in excess of \$350,000.

The gross income of residents of the trading area amounted to better than \$4,000,000 in 1959. The Town boasts of two (2) parks situated on the most picturesque lake in Southern Manitoba and a nine-hole Golf Course not equalled by any other town in the province.

We hope this will set the record straight and would suggest to Mr. Troyer that he familiarize himself with his subject matter rather than use a warped imagination.

KILLARNEY, MAN.

A. H. BENGE

The Restless Hearts

Susan C. Barron writes a delightful letter about the French-Canadian problem [SN Jan. 7]. I ask leave to comment on it.

Assuming that Mrs. Barron is sincere, I would like to point out that the impassioned and somewhat hysterical character of her letter is not likely to convince many serious persons of the superiority of her English-Canadian education (or was it instruction only?).

But her style probably depends much less on her scholarly achievements than on her avowed French-Canadian background. With a Latin upbringing (and, perhaps, a touch of Celtic blood?), she feels with a strong passion the differences between the two societies — and the unfairness of it all.

Not too well or too deeply versed in history or sociology; hindered by her sex from being objective; her Gallic (and Irish?) epidermis scraped raw by the rub of a colossal, powerful, materialistic, brash and vulgar community against one notably small, weak, poor, theocratic, ignorant and conservative: Mrs. Barron cannot run the course and, "having seen the light", she is "presently active" in redressing the wrong.

And she proceeds in doing so in a typical Latin manner. How refreshing and how French-Canadian! For, as she states in her letter: "It has been a favorite pastime of the French-Canadians to plot against and envy one another since they came to this country". O, the wayward winds and the restless hearts!

Pace Mrs. Barron, the French-Canadians and their language will survive as long as their community continues breeding men and women of your spirit and energy.

A small correction before I finish: M. Jean-Marie Domenach is not a French-Canadian, as stated by Mrs. Barron, but a Frenchman with an enviable reputation in the intellectual world.

To conclude, I must apologize for my own prose and its weaknesses. I would have written in French, with more ease (and the certitude of a courteous reception in SATURDAY NIGHT), but I feared that Mrs. Barron might not have read me — which would have been of frightful consequence to the French-Canadians.

QUEBEC, P.Q.

MARCEL RICHARD

No Abdication

In a little tirade of her own [SN Jan 7th], Susan C. Barron seems very eager indeed to have all French-Canadians rush into the melting pot along with her. Fortunately, most of us have no desire whatever to follow her example of obsequious abdication.

OTTAWA

GERARD P. VACHON

Cause of Death

What, in the opinion of J. D. Morton [Point of View, SN Jan. 7], caused the death of Richard the Third? Many have felt that Charles the First lost his head "as a result of war". Possibly Morton considers him as a sort of border-line case.

I think I heard B. K. Sandwell turn over.

CALGARY

O. C. PENNOCK

Stand on Divorce

In your "Comment of the Day" [SN Jan. 7] your statement, "If Roman Catholics are not allowed by their religion to get a divorce, etc." leaves the impression that opposition to divorce is something invented by the Catholic Church.

The fact of the matter is that the Catholic stand on divorce is the same as the stand taken by Christ as is so clearly indicated in the Bible, for example, Matthew 5, 32;

"But I say to you that everyone who puts away his wife, save on account of immorality, causes her to commit adultery; and he who marries a woman who has been put away commits adultery."

See also Mark 10, 2-12, and Luke 16, 18.

SASKATOON

F. S. LUCAS

Bad Workmanship

With our attention being directed to "Buy Canadian", I am prompted to write you in the hope that Canadian manufacturers will take note. As one consumer, I frequently buy an imported article because our Canadian manufactured article is of inferior quality. The quality of the basic material often compares favorably. However, the quality of workmanship in the manufacture of the Canadian article is poor!

Some examples:

(a) Canadian-made automobile, \$4,000 — 1959 model — leaked water ever since purchase, although the dealer has made many efforts to correct same. The floor sections are pools of water when it rains.

(b) Shower-proof raincoat, \$39, that would not deter a drizzle.

(c) Toddler's tee-shirts, \$1.95, that lost shape when laundered: neck space too small; no proper shoulder loops to accommodate shoulder straps from pants or jumper-dress.

(d) Lady's sleeveless blouse, \$2.95 — seams poorly sewn; bias binding frayed away; thread around button holes frayed off, and buttons came off. These items all occurred after first laundry.

(e) Lady's nylon half-slip, \$7.95—the nylon tricot and nylon lace are good quality. However, the seams between the several rows of lace and the basic material tore away.

In all the above examples, reasonable care and wear were given to the articles. It appears that we need a return "to excellence." We are not doing our best, making our best or putting our best effort into our work. Surely, we are being paid among the highest in the world, why can't we produce a good product for consumption at home or abroad?

WEST VANCOUVER

IOLA W. KNIGHT

Comment of the Day

Church and School

ONTARIO, ALONE of the Provinces in Canada, has a law which makes the teaching of religion compulsory in public schools. Since the Roman Catholics in the province have their own separate school system, the public schools are often, therefore, thought of as Protestant schools rather than merely public. Such an interpretation can, of course, give rise to prejudice against minorities, especially the Jewish minority.

In the last month or two, Toronto has had a number of fairly bitter public debates on this whole matter, many of which have been concerned more with the fact that Protestant clergymen go into the schools to do the teaching than with the fact that religion is taught.

Since the war the character of Toronto's population has changed. It is no longer the Orange city it once was and the whole question of the Clergy Reserves last century should have made it clear once and for all that there is no place in Ontario for an Establishment of church and state. On the other hand, it is clear that in a society based primarily on the Christian ethic, the majority too has its rights. Those rights must include the instruction of all children in the historical basis of that society.

We would suggest that the Council of Churches or a special consultative body of the churches and the Dept. of Education be set up by the Province to enquire into the feasibility of making the Judaeo-Christian religion an academic subject in the last three grades in public school. If the subject were thus integrated into the curriculum it could then be taught by the same kind of supervisor as in most Ontario centres teaches music, art or some of the other more specialized subjects of the curriculum.

We believe that such a solution would be acceptable to all except the bigots on both sides and would make the education of our children more rounded and, therefore, better.

Taxes and Technology

ON TUESDAY November 17th last Leon Crestohl put forward the following notice of motion in the House of Commons: "That in the opinion of this House the Government should consider the advisability of amending the income tax act so as to provide for the exemption from income tax of tuition fees paid to universities, vocational training schools, military colleges,

academies and other institutions of higher learning, as well as costs of text books and scientific equipment necessary to the courses followed in these institutions of learning."

When the interim budget was brought down on December 20 Mr. Fleming had

Liberal Rally Song

("At the Liberal Rally, it was observed that the Hon. Lester B. Pearson had reverted to a bow-tie."—News item.)

SOME TALK of A. Mackenzie
And some of Laurier,
Of St. Laurent and Hepburn
And such great names as they;
But of all distinguished Liberals
The one you cannot help but like
Is our bow, bow, bow, bow, bow-tied
Guiding star, inimitable Mike.

VIC

so far agreed with Mr. Crestohl that he said: "Some students while pursuing their university courses earn sufficient money to incur an income tax liability. I am proposing that a student in full time attendance at a university, if he is proceeding towards a degree, be allowed to deduct the tuition fees he pays to the university when computing his taxable income".

The difference between what Crestohl asked for and what Fleming offered is that the budget excludes those students taking a two year specialist course in such institutions as the Ryerson Technical Institute and other accredited technical and trade institutions which give diplomas rather than degrees.

This is yet another example of governments paying lip service to the demands of an ever-expanding technological economy and at the same time making it difficult for people who wish to become technologists to get the training they need to fit profitably into that economy. If the Conservative Government in Ottawa is really serious about its Canadian "vision" it surely realizes that we must manufacture more goods in this country than we now do, in order to provide jobs for our growing labor force. Such jobs, as industry has been telling any government that would listen for the past 10 years, are only available to technically trained people.

As we have pointed out several times in SATURDAY NIGHT the ratio of unemployed

in the labor force bears a startling coincidence to the number of untrained. Yet a person who decides to become an engineering technologist in the aeronautical, architectural, chemical, civil or medical fields (all courses offered at Ryerson and other technological institutes across the country) cannot claim deductions that other students in arts courses at universities are allowed to. As we said in the September 3 issue of SATURDAY NIGHT, we should become more serious about our education problems. And if the government doesn't, who else can?

The Central Problem

THE REPATRIATION of the Constitution is not going to be achieved as quickly as some of the pundits have said it is. The meeting at the beginning of January did not seem to get it much further along especially since the views of Saskatchewan were not canvassed before that meeting and Saskatchewan and Quebec are almost diametrically opposed to each other in this matter.

The reason for this impasse is clear. Saskatchewan's CCF Government is centralist by nature and, if the constitution is to be rewritten, it wants it framed so that a Socialist Government in Ottawa (the aim, after all, of all CCFers) would be able to get a lot of reforms done in a hurry.

Quebec, on the other hand, be its Government Liberal or Union Nationale, is convinced that the centralisers in Ottawa already have too much power and it will not agree to repatriate a constitution which will give them more.

If unanimity is to be achieved it will be after a lot more discussion than has already taken place and when Saskatchewan has been appeased as much as Quebec. How that can be arranged is a question which would make even Solomon blench.

Friend and Foe

TWO STORIES of England in 1940 seem to illustrate some aspects of military thinking on this continent in 1961.

With American battleships exercising in the Caribbean and two aircraft carriers anchored in Guantanamo Naval Base in Cuba; with other carriers loaded with combat marines steaming off the Indo-Chinese coast, there seems to be even more tangible evidence these days of the Pentagon's itchy trigger fingers. It reminds one strongly of the *Punch* cartoon in 1940 which

showed a peppery old colonel dressed in tweeds, a "Home Guard" band on his arm and a smoking gun in his hand saying: "Halt! Who went there?"

On the other hand, as Mr. Pearson expounded his theory that we should merely try to detect enemy planes, not shoot them down if they invade our sovereign air space, there came to mind the second story.

Again it was a Home Guard who, in this instance, was stopping a car near a bridge over the River Welland on the East Coast:

"Halt! Who goes there? Friend or foe?"
"Foe".

"Well go away, we are not yet organized to deal with foes".

Is that to be really Canada's line under the Liberals?

The Cost of War

THE CANADIAN ARMY JOURNAL has some astounding information in its recent issue:

"Computation made on an electronic computer by a former President of the Norwegian Academy of Sciences, aided by historians from England, Egypt, Germany and India have produced some astounding figures on the frequency and severity of wars.

"Included in these findings is the fact that since 3600 BC the world has known only 292 years of peace. During this period there have been 14,531 wars, large and small, in which three billion six hundred and forty million people have been killed. The value of the destruction would pay for a golden belt around the earth 156 kilometers in width and 10 meters thick.

"Since 650 BC there have been 1656 arms races, only 16 of which have not ended in war. The remainder have ended in economic collapse of the countries concerned".

Liberal Slide

OUR OWN SUMMING up of the Liberal rally two weeks ago (as distinct from that of Dale Thomson and Raymond Rodgers whose articles appear on other pages in this issue) is that the Liberals did not succeed in becoming the reform group some of them set out to be after the 'brains trust' in Kingston last September. They have hedged on foreign policy, compromised on military policy, and are obviously troubled about going all out for a national health scheme. By so doing they have retained a good deal of support from the older members of the party, but have also forfeited a lot of union support which they might otherwise have wooed away from the Third Party.

Indeed, the rally may have given the Conservatives and the Third Party people

just the electioneering fillip they both need. The Conservatives can outscore them on some planks of the platform and show their fatal hesitation on others. The Third Party can assert that they are the only reform group left in the country. Both can and will, therefore, play heavily on the theme that the Liberals in Canada seem to be on the same slippery slope as the one which led to ruin for the British Liberals after Lloyd George's day.

None of this may be true, but it is wonderfully convincing from the hustings.

Army vs. Navy

REPORTS FROM Washington these days talk about President Kennedy's "task force" and the way its members are "charting a new course through the troubled waters of international affairs." An article in the *New York Times* even commented that "his lines of organisation" are "often actually snarled and broken by the political tempests."

Obviously the rivalry between Army and Navy goes right into the White House. And the fact that it only takes a Navy lieutenant to replace a General of the Army will not be overlooked at Annapolis either.

Teacher's Progressional

("The Toronto Board of Education is introducing ballpoint pens into its elementary schools."—*News item.*)

BOARD OF OUR fathers, known of old,
Board of each elementary class,
Beneath whose guiding hand we hold
Dominion over lad and lass—
Board, awed of most, sustain us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

Far-called, old pens are hauled away;
Instead, ballpoints thy bounty bought;
Lo, all our nibs of yesterday
Are one with Spencer and with Sprott!
Board, awed of most, protect us yet,
Lest we regret—lest we regret!

The scraping and the scratching dies;
Pen-points in holders rust no more:
Still stands, though fading as time flies,
The ink upon the spattered floor.
Board, awed of most, preserve us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

Need we no more seek sterile ways
To lend our writing-lessons zip?
No further CNE displays
Of dull Spencerian penmanship?
Such boons would raise, with one accord,
Thanks from thy grateful teachers, Board!

VIC



First Coins For Canada...



Silver 5-sol and 15-sol pieces were struck in 1670 by Louis XIV

of France for his colonies in North America. The 15-sol piece has become one of the rarest of all Canadian coins—and today is worth about \$600.

Canada's First Real Money

Canada's first real money, in the form of bank notes, was issued by the Bank of Montreal—Canada's first bank—when it opened its doors for business on November 3, 1817. Later, the bank provided copper coinage. With the passing of the Currency Act in 1841, B of M coins became recognized legal tender of Canada.



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Liberal Rally in Ottawa drew fresh attention to Mike Pearson as an alternative to Diefenbaker at Government's helm.

Liberals Settle for the Middle Road

by Dale C. Thomson

"REALISTIC AND FRUITFUL compromise." The words were used by former Prime Minister St. Laurent in describing the faculties that made Lester B. Pearson such an outstanding figure in international politics. They describe equally well the Liberal Rally at which they were spoken.

The two thousand delegates edged gingerly to the left, veered to the right in an attempt to attract bankers and business men disgruntled with the Diefenbaker Government's financial policies, and ended up relatively near where they started from. Dr. Boyd Upper of Toronto, Chairman of the Rally sub-committee on health insurance, put it this way: "The Liberals didn't move to the left or right; they moved straight ahead."

The Rally organizers seem to have set themselves four principal goals — to consolidate Pearson's position as national leader by a demonstration of popular support, to generate enthusiasm for the Liberal cause, to restate Liberal goals, and to re-activate Liberal organizations throughout the country. Did they succeed?

Within the limits of "realistic and fruitful compromise"—yes.

The 1961 get-together was patterned on the only available precedent — a meeting in 1893 to launch Wilfrid Laurier's final drive for the Prime Ministership after fifteen long years in the political wilderness of opposition. Sixty-eight years later, the Grits hope to turn the trick again.

For the past three years Lester Pearson has concentrated his efforts on mastering the great variety of subjects on which a national political leader is supposed to be an expert in Canada, and on finding his feet as Liberal chieftain in the House of Commons. Boning up on Canadian internal problems was the lesser task. A keen student, Pearson has an unusual capacity to absorb quickly the essentials of "working papers" drawn up by his advisers. (It was this trait that enabled him as Secretary of State for External Affairs to keep posted on a great variety of incidents and crises occurring simultaneously throughout the world, and to help develop workable solutions.) Now

long hours of similar study have paid dividends at home as well, and by now he feels competent to speak on nearly any subject that might arise in Parliament.

To gain self-confidence as party leader was in some respects a more difficult matter. As Secretary of State for External Affairs Pearson had limited his contribution largely to prepared statements — albeit frequently prepared by himself — on foreign affairs, and restricted himself to that field in which he enjoyed unquestioned superiority. His baptism of fire as party leader ended disastrously in January 1958 when Prime Minister Diefenbaker tore into shreds his first motion that the Conservative minority government should resign and allow the Liberals to return to office.

Sensing that the new Grit leader was a highly sensitive man and vulnerable to ridicule and invective, the Prime Minister has used the same tactics repeatedly to hurl back the Opposition attacks. But one day in 1960 things were different. After watching somewhat apprehensively as the



Tory Whitton challenged Grits to state their faith clearly, unequivocally.

Prime Minister rose to take part in a hot debate, Pearson suddenly realized that the barbs of his opponent no longer had any effect on him.

As National Liberal Organizer Jim Scott put it at the Rally: "For the first time Mike found he was invulnerable to the Prime Minister's attacks. From then on he felt he could handle any situation that might come up in the House". Since then the Government, and not the Official Opposition, has been on the defensive.

This was the "new" Pearson that the Rally organizers wanted Liberals and liberally-minded Canadians to meet. In fact, it is the real Mike Pearson. Heretofore the image in the public mind has not done the man full justice. Anxious to force into the background the impression of a smooth and urbane diplomat, his advisers attempted for three years to have him compete on John Diefenbaker's own ground. As a result, his television personality has not revealed the warm sincerity and the inner strength that are so evident in his private conversation.

With increasing self-confidence in his role as national Leader, Pearson has been able to relax into a more natural pose, and the result is much more impressive. If he can communicate to larger audiences the personal charm and the impression of reasoned competence that endears him to his friends, his party colleagues now argue, he will be a difficult politician to beat.

Did Mike Pearson establish his mastery over the Liberal Party at the January Rally? Certainly there is no danger of a palace revolution, and no talk of an alternate leader before the next election. The delegates were impressed with what they saw of the man in action. If they needed

any proof of his mental dexterity they received it in abundance on the final evening.

Arrangements had been made for an hour-long broadcast on CBC national television, of which he was to have the lion's share. However, enthusiastic young Liberals staged a demonstration after St. Laurent's introductory remarks that delayed Pearson's turn at the microphones. While the young people cheered and stamped, tossed prairie wheat at one another, and released pigeons in the air, he chopped whole sections out of his prepared text in order to finish in time. And all without ceasing for an instant to reply to the cheers of his admirers!

It was a magnificent on-the-spot job of editing; he concluded with just enough time to spare to enable CBC commentators to draw the program to a close. This, and his other speeches at the convention demonstrated that, if Mike Pearson is not the greatest platform performer, he is certainly the most brilliant speech writer in Canada today.

What about the enthusiasm for the Liberal cause that the Rally was designed to generate? The meeting was conceived to attract not only party stalwarts but also "liberally-minded Canadians", a term employed, presumably, to encompass all Canadians interested in progress and reform. The planners included several well-known Canadian personalities who had not taken an active part in politics before.

Walter L. Gordon, former Chairman of the Royal Commission on Economic Prospects, was chairman of the all-powerful Policy Committee. A former secretary of the same Royal Commission, Maurice Sauvé, who had no political affiliation as recently as two and a half years ago, was

one of the co-chairmen of the Policy Committee. The chairman of the sub-committee on trade was Mitchell Sharpe, former deputy minister of Trade and Commerce. A former deputy minister of National Defence, C. M. Drury of Montreal, served as co-chairman on foreign policy and defence, and a third former deputy minister, Walter Turnbull, also took an active part in the meeting.

From the academic field came Professors Otto Lang and John Paul from the University of Saskatchewan, D. L. Macfarlane from Macdonald College, and Maxwell Cohen, Acting Dean of Law at McGill University. A former Social Credit supporter, oil magnate C. R. Walker of Calgary, participated in the Rally, and former Social Credit MP from Bow River, Charles Johnston, was reported in attendance.

One of the cleverest moves, though, was to declare on the first day that all delegates, guests and visitors were to have equal status — in other words, that they could attend all meetings, take part in discussions, and vote. Even newspapermen were allowed to participate in discussion, ask questions and raise their hands with the "ayes" or "nays".

It was a calculated risk that the benefits of such a democratic procedure would outweigh the danger of chaos. "Aren't you afraid that the Communists will infiltrate the meetings and force through some bad resolutions?" asked a perplexed German student astonished at being able to sit in on policy-making bodies.

The risk paid off. No protest was made by the party brass even when one committee chose to replace its chairman because he appeared too intent on limiting discussion to the working paper that had been prepared by a few experts, including himself. In most committees the clash between progressive and reactionary ele-



Divergence of views was evident



Hellyer: Pale oratory offset by . . .

ments was open and unimpaired.

Only in two instances was there control: In the Defence Committee Walter Gordon and "Bud" Drury felt obliged to intervene and oppose openly the demand of left-wingers for a more neutralist military policy. And the Policy Committee killed a resolution put forward by the "Young Turks" recommending that Red China be granted a seat in the United Nations. However, several other resolutions did not reach the floor of the convention for want of time and were referred to the Policy Committee for "appropriate action" at a later date.

These free-for-all debates stimulated keen interest at the Rally, and were in marked contrast to the last Conservative convention in 1956 at which the resolutions were not even published after being

endorsed. Such freedom of discussion and voting were the best possible proof that the party is endeavoring to live up to its democratic origins. A timorous experiment succeeded and may well become a healthy tradition. With its potential as a rejuvenating force it may even be an essential factor in the survival of the Liberal party.

The principal task of the Rally was undoubtedly to draw up a new set of Liberal goals. If there is one major explanation for the defeat of the Liberals in 1957, it is the fact that the St. Laurent government had run out of worlds to conquer. Far from being crusading reformers like their political ancestors, the Cabinet became proficient but sometimes unimaginative administrators.

And in the words of one of the greatest Liberals of the past, George Brown, "when the arrangements, even of Liberalism, have stiffened into dead formalities . . . then [true] Liberalism will again find its place in striking at such abuses". Speaking to a Young Liberal gathering at Presqu'Île, Ontario, shortly after the 1958 election, Pearson confessed that "Liberalism did not have, or was made to appear not to have, enough content to secure a majority of the seats in the House of Commons."

At the opening ceremonies of the 1961 Rally, an avowed Tory, Ottawa Mayor Charlotte Whitton, challenged the Grits to "state your faith clearly and unequivocally, leave no doubt as to where you stand; whither you will guide the country if given office, by what means and policies you propose to advance her further to her mighty destiny". To re-state his party's faith has been undoubtedly one of Mike Pearson's goals in the last three years, but there is little evidence that he has succeeded any better than the leaders of the other political parties in Canada today.

Conservatives, Liberals and New Party-ites seem more pre-occupied with crowding each other off the centre of the political road than standing firm by any well-defined set of party concepts. It is noteworthy that Pearson's most creditable attempt at a definition of Liberal philosophy was made between the time he was defeated as Minister of External Affairs and the time he assumed the Liberal Leadership.

Last fall's Kingston Conference of some two hundred carefully chosen intellectuals might have been expected to produce some statements of Liberalism, but no one appears to be the wiser concerning Liberal philosophy as a result of that meeting. The most brilliant paper, and certainly one in the best traditions of fighting Liberalism, was delivered by Professor Frank Underhill, a man whom many party members consider a radical and a renegade. One Rally delegate even protested violently at the sale of Underhill's latest book *In Search of Canadian Liberalism* [SN:



. . . fiery declamation of St. Laurent.

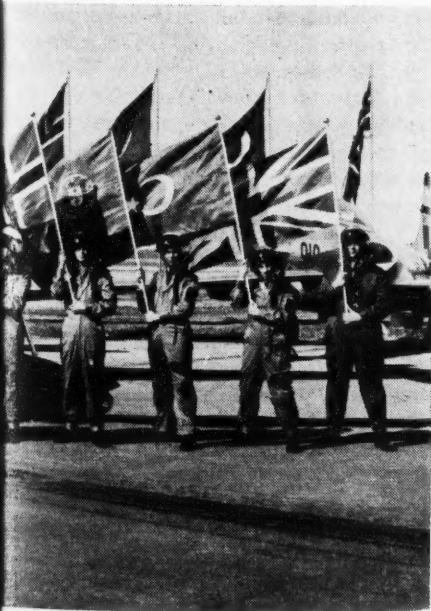
Dec. 10] in the Ottawa Coliseum entrance.

Of the twenty-two policy sub-committees at the Rally, not one was charged with drawing up a statement of Liberal principles. Rally chairman Paul Hellyer gave a ten-minute discourse on Liberalism the first morning, but his effort was a pale and rather sedate reflection of the fighting faith of his Grit predecessors. A century ago it was something of a revolutionary movement and people were ready to shed their blood in its name. It is hardly surprising that a millionaire Toronto contractor in an affluent society found difficulty in committing its essence to paper.

It fell to 79-year-old ex-Prime Minister St. Laurent to make the most creditable attempt at a definition. "The Holy Scriptures tell us that man cannot live by bread alone," he told the delegates, "And neither can a political party live by expedients alone . . . A political party to endure must have principles and must be true to those principles." For St. Laurent, Liberal principles include enlightened nationalism, national unity, full employment, and a fair distribution of the national wealth—rather administrative goals than lofty principles.

The fact of the matter is that Liberals, having been in office over forty years in this century, have come to think of themselves primarily as the nation's most efficient administrators rather than as crusading zealots. Asked what would distinguish a future Liberal government from the present one, Montreal delegate C. M. Drury replied without hesitation — "better administration". Mr. St. Laurent's warning that to build on anything but sound principles is to build on sand seems to have been largely unheeded.

But should Liberals be singled out for particular criticism for the apparent lack



and Canadian role in NATO.

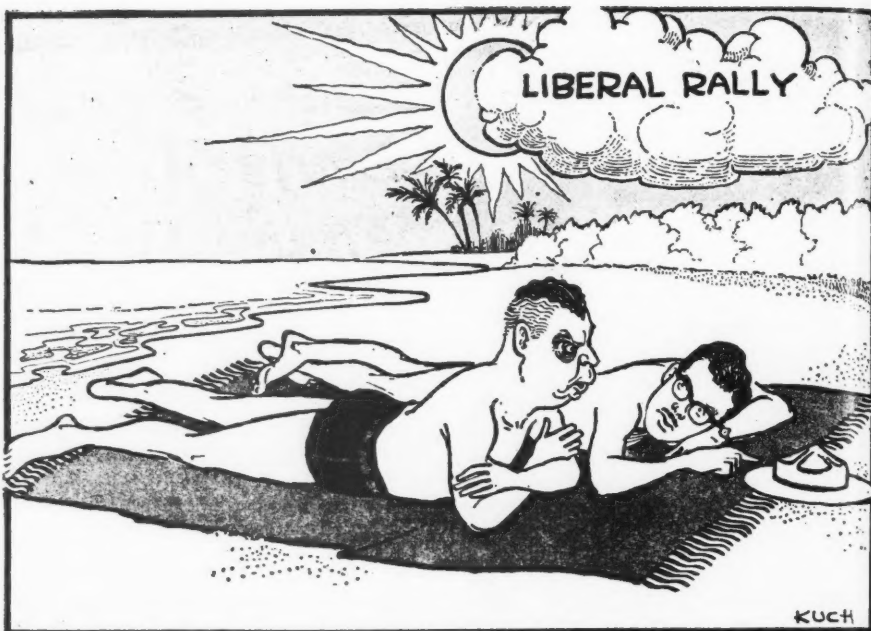
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Who can define what the present-day Conservatives or the New Party leaders stand for? The main difference seems to be between the "ins" and the "outs". Osgoode Hall law student David Greenspan, one of the brightest young men in the Liberal party today, put it this way: "Even among young Canadians there is little interest in party philosophy, and still less in radical reform platforms."

If the resolutions hammered out in Ottawa last month are light on philosophy, they do bear evidence of a keen tug-of-war between left and right wing elements within the party, and they do reflect real concern for the problems facing Canadians today.

The spectre of mass unemployment dominated the meeting, and the Liberals promised a "bold and imaginative" program to restore full employment. Many of the proposals were culled from the 1958 election platform but are not likely to be less effective for that. Certainly the delegates were on solid ground in attacking the present national administration for its ineffectiveness in dealing with the present economic crisis, and tax cuts, accelerated depreciation, greater use of the Industrial Development Bank, creation of a Municipal Loan Fund, a retraining program for the unemployed — all are worthwhile suggestions. But their authorship can be traced largely to a pre-convention paper prepared by the sub-committee chairman Maurice Lamontagne, rather than to contributions by the delegates.

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Recalling the caustic comments from political opponents that health insurance has been a part of the Liberal party platform for nearly forty years, and that only one stage, hospital insurance, has been accomplished, many delegates were reluctant to raise the subject again. Once again this was a reflection of a mentality acquired through years in public office, where administrative decisions are announced as they are taken and not before. The "Young Turks" wanted more, and they had strong men such as Paul Martin and Tom Kent, former editor of the *Winnipeg Free Press*, on their side.

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A resolution with the rather intriguing title of "The Skilled Society" furnishes another example of the struggle between left wing and right wing Grits. It is, in fact, a resolution on education, and declares that "Liberalism requires equality of opportunity and therefore education at all levels should be free". The surprising thing about this resolution is that it should have survived longer than five minutes in that form in the policy sub-committee.

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Even this was a courageous step; autonomy-minded Quebec writers have already started an attack on this proposal, and some Liberals are wondering if they have compromised their very favored position in French Canada.

The acid test for any political party is its stand on that highly intangible factor — national sentiment. Traditionally, the Liberals have leaned to close economic relations with the United States while the Conservatives have continued to look nostalgically across the Atlantic to the "old country" or "home". Too often this attitude has resulted in plucking feathers from the tail of the American eagle by the Tories and terrier-like snapping at the British mastiff by the Grits. At a recent New Party meeting in Montreal CCF leader Hazen Argue tried to do both at the same time.

In drawing up the resolution for a "strong independent nationalism", the Liberals were very conscious of this "let's be nasty to the Americans" inclination that is becoming something of a national pastime in this country. A revealing indication of Canadians' feeling of inferiority towards their neighbors, it is a factor to be reckoned with in the political arena. The Rally resolution in this field was designed to direct nationalist sentiments from America-baiting to a more positive pride in Canada.

With the Diefenbaker government launched on the first stage of what appears to be an insidious anti-American campaign designed to assure Conservative victory at the polls, it would have taken exceptional courage to stand by our American friends. And yet, what alternative course have Canadians in the long run, and what political party is better placed, by logic and by history, to adopt that posture? Liberals have always been friendly to the United States without detracting noticeably from their confidence in Canada itself.

Pearson took the floor on the first night of the Rally to temper these anti-America sentiments, and warned the delegates not to confuse "the defence of Canada's rights with breast-beating or by war-whooping around whatever symbol of

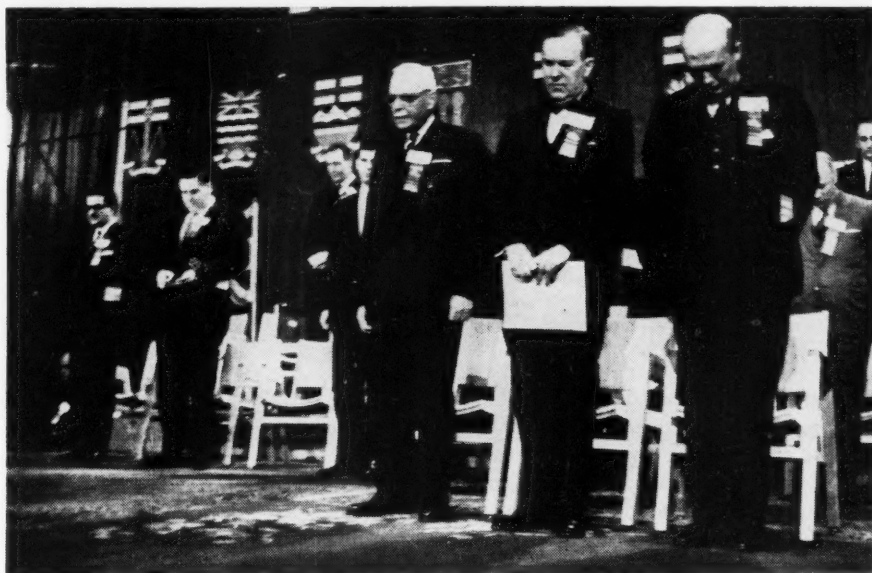
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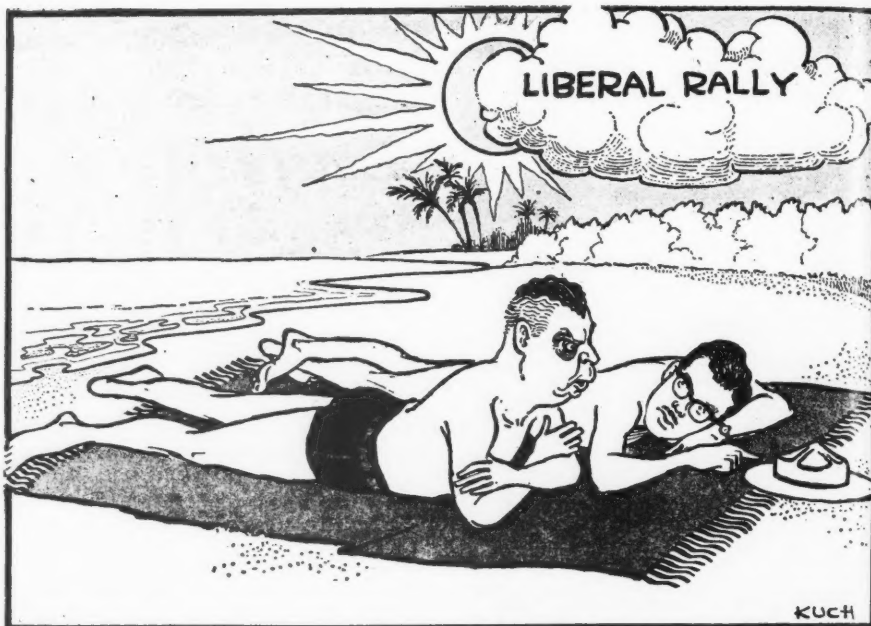
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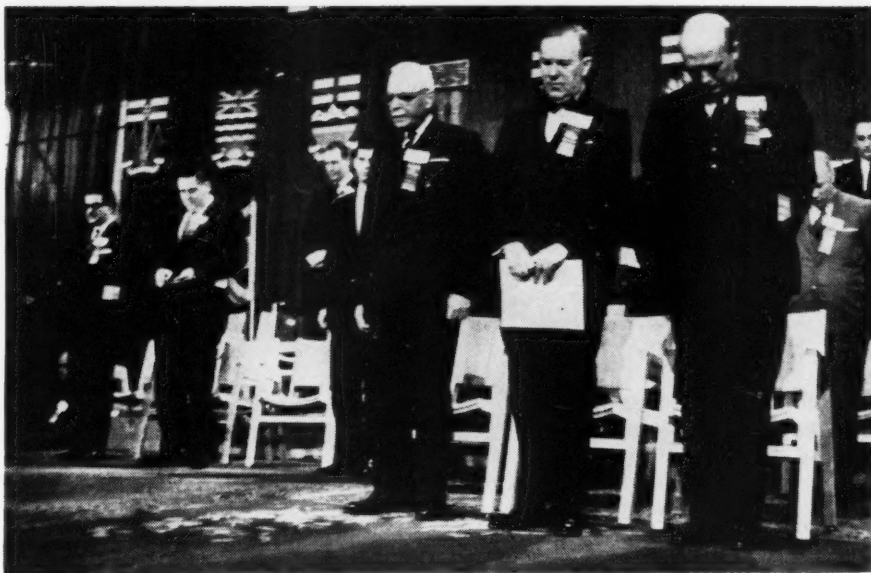
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Dame Margot Fonteyn, Michael Somes in "The Sleeping Beauty". Superlative techniques without rival.

The Royal Ballet in Toronto

by Graham George

LINCOLN KIRSTEIN, director of New York's School of American Ballet, defines ballet epigrammatically as "human anatomy, solid geometry and musical composition", and the fresh experience of the Royal Ballet's performances at the O'Keefe Centre in Toronto two weeks ago enables us to add to this for our purpose. Our purpose derives from the fact that to most Canadians ballet is still a somewhat suspect art-form.

With our intensely practical outlook, we tend to regard it as pointless, effete and, if not itself immoral, at any rate closely allied to immorality. We may allow our neighbors to send their girl-children to ballet-classes, but we look with sudden disapproval if their sons—rare occurrence!—go too: a state of mind also expressed in our misfortune that warrior kings no longer play the flute and that it is a rarity rather than a social commonplace, as once it was, for gallantry in arms to be associated with strong aesthetic awareness.

It is in a way odd that we, as Canadians, mistrust the ballet. For this art is earthy: earthy and down-to-earth—and so are we. Its earthiness shows in the elemental simplicity of its emotional concerns: love, hate, enchantments, self-sacrifice and death. Down-to-earth it has to be, because there are well-defined limits to what the

human body will consent to do, even though we might further define ballet as the art of disciplining the body until its athletic capacities are at the point of transcending its nature.

What magic, for example, causes the illusion in a brilliantly executed "elevation" that the dancer has momentarily hovered in mid-air? It is down-to-earth, too, because that important part of it called "mime", which is the art of expressing narrative action in gesture, also has distinct limits, bounding what the person who sees it can be expected to understand.

Thus the appeal of ballet goes to the depths of our natures — our elemental sense of rhythm, our love of spectacle (for an important part of it is the staging: the costumes, the *décor*, the lighting, and the movement over the whole stage as distinct from one dancer's movements). In the case of the three great "classical" ballets — which, confusingly enough for those of us who normally distinguish between "classical" and "romantic" are really great romantic ballets — the love of elemental emotional situations, such as fairy-tales contain, which lies deep in our childhood's heart.

So, though we may think that to appreciate ballet we ought to become more sophisticated, in fact we need rather to

turn back the clock of our experience to childhood's infinite capacity for enjoyment, and let the production do the rest.

Music, dance-design, scenery and costumes, and story if there is one (there doesn't have to be) — these are the raw materials of ballet. The music has passed through a number of phases historically, from the formal dance movements of the seventeenth-century baroque to twentieth-century application of dance-design to existing musical masterpieces; with, in between, Adolphe Adam's *Giselle* and Tchaikovsky's *Sleeping Beauty*, *Nutcracker* and *Swan Lake*—three ballets which remained musically incomparable until Stravinsky matched them with *Fire-bird*, *Petroucha* and *The Rite of Spring*.

The Royal Ballet's presentations in Toronto were solidly classical: the three full-length romantic ballets each presented twice, with a programme of *delicate sen* to round off with — *Les Sylphides*, a *Divertissement*, and Frederick Ashton's engaging little masterpiece *Les Patineurs*. Arnold Haskell, dean of England's ballet critics, defines a *divertissement* as "an entertainment made up of a series of disconnected dances, usually a hopeless muddle".

This one was not a hopeless muddle, but it contained one hopeless mistake: the setting of Vivaldi's *A Minor Concerto* for

strings, with choreography by Alfred Rodrigues. The creation of ballets by superimposing dance-design on existing instrumental masterpieces began in the thirties after the death of Diaghilev, the most ambitious of such works being *Chorearham*, based on Brahms' *Fourth Symphony*. The procedure has always aroused much controversy, and what happened to Vivaldi's small but real treasure is a cogent argument for the prosecution.

In principle the difficulty is that, especially with an established work, the music already means something too specific for words or pictures in the mind of the listener, and to superimpose on this a dance-design meaning something else is to many people intolerable. In Vivaldi's case, the first movement had to be taken too slowly, the middle movement slightly too fast and much too metronomically, and—inevitably—the stage movement had little or no relation to what any listener who had heard the music before could possibly think it meant. Compared to this it was less important that the choreography seemed in itself jejune and the dancing none too good. Maybe the dancers don't like it either.

One would not willingly have done without any of the three full-length romantic ballets, *Giselle*, *The Sleeping Beauty* and *Swan Lake*, yet one cannot deny a certain sense of disappointment that we had, for example, no *Petrouchka*, no *Fire-bird*, no *Three-Cornered Hat*—in fact nothing of importance with music later than 1890. *Antigone*, a new one-act ballet with music by the young contemporary Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis and choreography by John Cranko, was to have been done here, but was taken off on orders from Dame Ninette de Valois in London in reluctant submission to the insistence of the impresario S. Hurok.

Mr. Hurok's probable argument, that the public would prefer the classical works of the last century, can easily be guessed, but is it valid? Possibly audiences would have flocked to see *Petrouchka*, the only ballet of this century which has attained the status of a "classic" in the public mind, with as much enthusiasm as they did to see the milder works. So heavy a diet of classical works is very strange programming, and is certainly dangerous to the morale of the dancers.

Four ballerinas were with the company in Toronto, and it goes without saying that the technical level of dancing, both theirs and that of the *corps de ballet*, is very high indeed. Seeing Annette Page only in relatively minor roles, I could form no judgment beyond the unmistakable one of her admirable competence; Anya Linden danced as Princess Aurora in *The Sleeping Beauty* with much grace of line and expressive ability, though there were moments, particularly in the harrowingly difficult *adagio* with the four suitors,

when you were aware of the successful accomplishment of the feat rather than absorbed in its aesthetic significance.

Svetlana Beriosova, one of the few members of the company not trained in its school, gave evidence of great technical and expressive powers. In *Swan Lake*, in which she dances the double role of the swan-princess Odette and the magician's daughter Odile, the expressive power seemed intermittently used, but any impression that she might be incapable of sustaining it was swept away by the intensity of her *Giselle*.

And Dame Margot Fonteyn.

During the five months or so of the present tour Dame Margot has danced thirty full length ballets—roughly one every five days—to say nothing of short ballets and parts of *divertissements*. No other ballerina with the tour has done more than twenty, and none has been with the tour for so large a part of its duration. These facts make it all the more disagreeable that the character of the ad-

potential weaknesses is that Dame Margot has no rival. Partly it is her superlative techniques: she is the only ballerina in the company who never has to come out of character to attend to a technical problem. This is not to disparage the other three ballerinas.

When one chooses to defy gravity, centrifugal force and the mechanical principles on which the body normally functions, it is not surprising that from time to time the control of such defiance demands a great part of one's attention. Yet it remains relentlessly true that it is better to stay in character all the time than not to. Dame Margot always does.

Second, and related to the first because an entirely reliable technique allows it (without necessarily producing it), she projects herself far more deeply into the character she portrays than any other of the ballerinas: in Act I of *Giselle*, for example, she is all child and peasant—the second more difficult to convey perhaps than the first—whereas in Act II



"Le Lac des Cygnes": A spiritual quality possessing an aspect of reality.

vertising—the fault either of Hurok's office or of the O'Keefe Centre—has left many people with a feeling of having been cheated that she danced only twice in Toronto.

There is no ethically tenable reason why the public should be left in doubt as to the cast of performers for each ballet, and the most cynical of accountants could note the company's experience that, even with Dame Margot's fame taken into account, it has been the ballet rather than the performers which affected the size of the house. We may hope that in future the business side of such presentations will be handled so as not to throw doubt on the magnanimity of one of the most magnanimous performers of our day.

As to her dancing, what is it that makes her incomparable? For, though one of the strengths of the company is that it is truly a team, not dependent on any one dancer for its survival, one of its gravest

her anguish is unremitting and deeply poignant. Third, she is blessedly, wonderfully musical.

Somehow one tends to suppose that all ballet dancers must be, but it is not so. (There is at least one male solo dancer in this company who ought to pray nightly for the gift of musical sensitivity to be bestowed on him. He dances well, but not always precisely when required. And two male soloists managed to get through the whole of a Strauss polka without more than coincidentally catching on.)

But beyond all these there is in her dancing a spiritual quality which is her own and undefinable. Caught in her spell—which paradoxically may be a less violently emotional spell than that of, for example, Beriosova—you find yourself thinking: "This is not dancing—it's an aspect of reality": the authentic magic of art in the hands—in this case the hands, the feet, the whole body, the head and the heart—of a great artist.



Belgian police rout student demonstrators in Louvain. Reasons for Belgian turmoil have many Canadian parallels.

Trouble in Belgium: A Hint for Canada?

by John Gellner

CANADIANS SHOULD OBSERVE carefully what is happening in Belgium these days. Belgium may be far away, and the violence accompanying the general strike last December and January something which we may think "can't happen here", but the immediate reasons for the Belgian troubles certainly have their parallels in this country. For what plagues the Belgian economy also plagues the Canadian. Only the hidden motivations of the turmoil in Belgium are different — and even some of them have a familiar ring, too.

The crisis in Belgium was precipitated by the introduction in parliament of an omnibus law (the *Loi Unique*) containing the Government's complete program of "financial rehabilitation, social progress and economic expansion". Inasmuch as it provides, among other things, for tax increases, including a 20 per cent rise in the turnover tax, as well as for a tightening (admittedly slight) of the rules of eligibility for some social benefits, the *Loi Unique* can be justly called an austerity program.

The Socialist Party, and the General Workers Federation it controls, contend that the average worker stands to lose between \$60 and \$80 of his yearly wages by it. If they are right (the Government disputes the figures), this would mean a reduction of the workers' standard of living by up to five per cent. On the other hand, the approximately \$123 million in new revenues, and savings amounting to

some \$198 million, would have the effect of balancing the budget after years of deficit spending.

At the same time, the Government expects to free some funds for a pump-priming of the economy which, it hopes, will result in a yearly increase of the gross national product by at least four per cent, and the creation of 100,000 new jobs in the next five years.

On the surface, then, the issue is simple. "We must live within our means", says the Belgian Government in tones reminiscent of Mr. Coyne's exhortations of recent years. "But don't tighten *our* belts", say the spokesmen for Belgium's labor.



Eyskens: Austerity seems sensible.

The latter's socialist wing has manifested its disapproval of austerity (if imposed upon the working man) by a general strike accompanied by much violence and sabotage. The Catholic trade unions do not like the *Loi Unique* either, but they have refused to join in the strike and have condemned its lawlessness.

There is no doubt — and this is admitted also by the Socialist Party — that fiscal reform is overdue in Belgium. Budgetary deficits, covered by borrowing at home and abroad, have been regular occurrences all through the 'fifties. On an average, expenditures have been greater than revenues by about one fifth, and by rather more than that in the last three years.

This obviously cannot go on, both because the service of the ever-mounting public debt is becoming too onerous, and because it has become increasingly difficult to borrow at reasonable rates. In the latter respect, the Belgian Government is caught in a squeeze: it must float domestic loans to cover budgetary deficits; but because it is continuously in the red, Belgian money — and there is a great deal of money in Belgium — does not go into government bonds. In fact, much of this money has in recent years been invested in Canada.

It is equally true that there is some feather-bedding in Belgium's vast structure of social security. About one third of the program is now publicly financed as

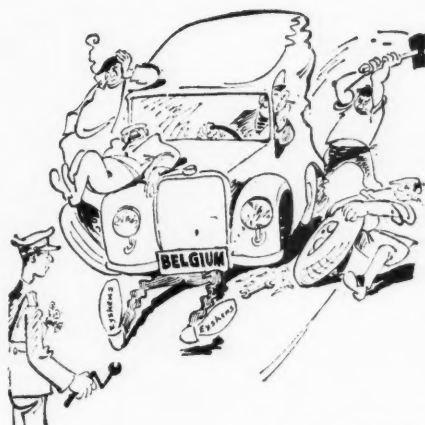
against two thirds paid by individuals. About one seventh of all budgetary expenditures are for welfare services. Not one of the welfare funds is today actuarially sound.

Another considerable burden on the budget are the subsidies paid to industry, especially to mining. The case of our Nova Scotia coal mines has its parallel in the pits of Southern Belgium. In past years, Belgian governments have been reluctant to tackle the problem of redundant and uneconomical coal production, because it is political dynamite. The substandard mines are in the socially most unstable part of Walloon (French-speaking) Belgium; in the Boringe, Verviers, Charleroi areas, already economically depressed in comparison with most of the rest of the country. Just as Nova Scotia coal is more expensive in Ontario than American, so Southern Belgian coal would be more expensive in Antwerp than imported American but for government subsidies.

The *Loi Unique* provides for a sharp curtailment of such subsidization of ailing industry. The Government is embarking on this course by necessity as much as by inclination. The ground rules of the European Coal and Steel Community do not allow competitive price-fixing among the Inner Six, and Belgium has had to agree to close a number of unproductive mines and reduce coal production by almost one third between 1960 and 1963.

As a result, there has already been a substantial drop in the labor force (by about 14 per cent in the last year), and growing unemployment in the coal mining regions at a time of full employment elsewhere. That a high proportion of the 118,984 persons listed as unemployed in September, 1960, were among the Walloon miners of Southern Belgium is one of the principal causes of the present social and political unrest in the country.

The Belgians have become accustomed to a standard of living which the economy cannot quite support in very much the same way as we have done in Canada:



Startung in Die Welt, Hamburg

"Help for the mechanic".

they went through a post-war economic boom which they mistakenly took to be a permanent condition. Belgium came out of the war in much better shape than could have been expected after four years of enemy occupation. Such had been the momentum of the German attack in 1940, and the Allied in 1944, that they rolled through the country quickly, without doing too much material damage.

At the same time, a very high demand for the minerals of the Congo gave Belgium a strong cash position at the end of the war. While her neighbors were largely engaged in sorting themselves out of the rubble, Belgium was able to start producing and selling almost at once. There was an immediate and spectacular rise in the gross national product — in fact, in 1947, only two years after the war, the GNP was 20 per cent higher than in 1939 (which had not been a bad year at all).

In the balmy days when Belgium could sell whatever she had to offer, there was little incentive for capital investment or modernization of plant, none for the reorganization of the economy. On the other hand, a vast program of social welfare was launched, one which, then, seemed easy to finance. The standard of living in Belgium became the highest in Western

Europe. As anybody who was there at the time will remember, Brussels was a veritable Mecca on an otherwise rather bleak Continent.

By 1950, competition from the rebuilt economies of Belgium's neighbors began to make itself felt. If the Belgian Government did not proceed to tighten the nation's belt right then, it can hardly be blamed. In Germany, post-war austerity was not a matter of choice. In Great Britain, it was but a continuation of a state to which the people had grown accustomed in six years of war. It is always more difficult to call for sacrifices after a long period of easy living. After all, we see this in Canada as well.

And so the Belgium economy slowed down — the increase in the GNP has been barely two per cent a year in the last seven years, less than half the average in the whole area of the Inner Six — while State and nation kept on spending freely. The *Loi Unique* is simply an expression of the self-evident truth that this cannot go on for ever.

"Fundamentally sound", when used to describe an economy, has a bad sound ever since these words were uttered somewhat too freely just before the great crash of 1929. Yet they well characterize Belgium's actual economic condition (as they do Canada's). Per capita income, at about \$875 a year, is among the highest in Europe. Production is holding up fairly well; exports are rising. Inflationary pressures have been comparatively moderate. The cost of living has gone up only 1.7 points in the last two years. All in all, the finances of the Belgian State are in a very much worse condition than is the economy of the country as a whole.

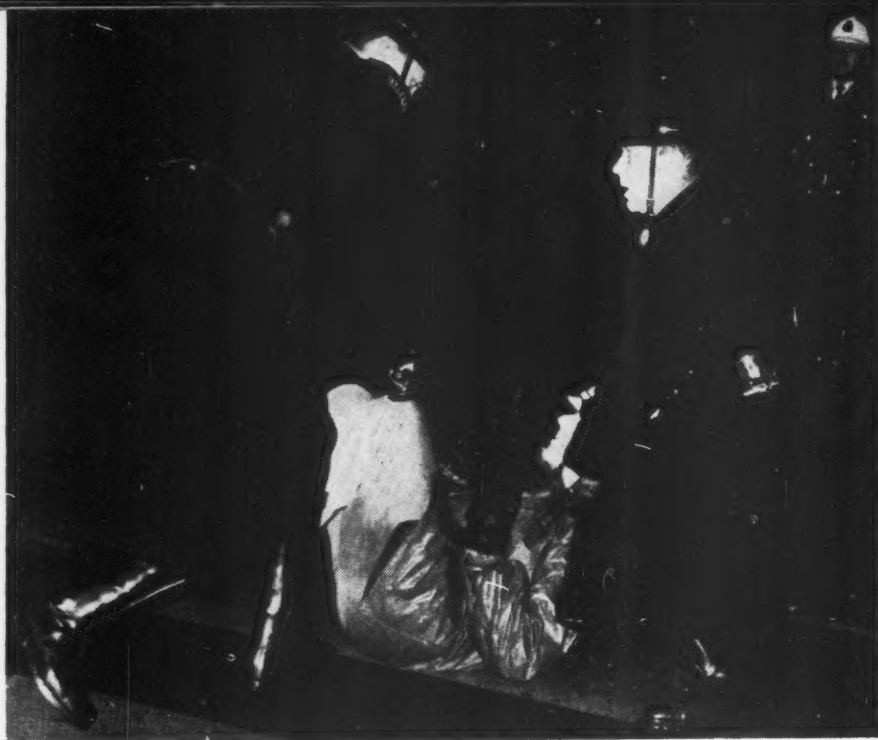
This fundamental soundness of the Belgian economy has not even been substantially affected by the loss of the Congo. The Government, when it introduced its austerity program, made much of the need for sacrifices to make good what was supposedly lost with the rich African colony. This is understandable: the Government of M. Gaston Eyskens has been in power



Leopold's abdication resulted from similar disorders.



Baudoin and bride cut honeymoon short to hurry home to lend measure of stability to government's actions.



Brussels riots were precipitated by parliamentary introduction of omnibus law.

since June, 1958. Financial reforms were called for as much then as they are now. The Government had to explain somehow why it was presenting its unpopular program at this particular moment, and the Congo tragedy provided a plausible explanation.

Saturday Night has from the beginning discounted the seriousness of the effect which a complete loss of revenue from the Congo, and even (and this is less likely) of all trade with her former colony, would have on Belgium [see *Africa Today: Caesarean Birth in the Congo*, SN, August 6, 1960]. Later calculations have borne out this estimate.

The loss in budgetary receipts will be between \$60 and \$80 million, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 per cent of total revenue. Even if all intangible factors are taken into account, and if the worst happened and all relations with the Congo were broken off — for the present, much that is valuable, especially in the mining states of Katanga and Kasai, is still very much in Belgian hands — the reduction in national income would be not quite 6 per cent.

As for trade, Belgium has had an unfavorable balance with the Congo for a good many years. She will have comparatively little difficulty obtaining elsewhere the raw materials she imported: it would be the Congo which would be the loser if it had to find substitute markets for the Belgian ones. Finally, the resettlement problem will be comparatively small: only about 50,000 persons will have to be absorbed into the economy of the former motherland.

As things look now, the most aggravating of the short-term consequences of the loss of the Congo would be the necessity to repay, if it was called, the portion of the Congolese debt guaranteed by Belgium. It amounts to about \$350 million. In the

long run, the total loss of all investments, should it come to it, would of course be a heavy blow, especially of the \$1.7 billion worth of investments in the private sector. Still, it can be said that Belgium will suffer no more as a consequence of not being a colonial power any longer than did other European countries; that is, comparatively little.

In sum, then, Belgium today presents the following picture: she has a viable economy, even though there are some weaknesses. She has a very high standard of living, and employment problems which, being institutional and regional, appear surmountable. Her finances are somewhat out of kilter because the State has spent too much, and the nation has demanded too much, compared to what they have earned. The difficulties Belgium has are as much psychological as material. There is a lack of social cohesion, and a lack of confidence in the future of the country.

Under these circumstances, M. Eyskens' austerity program would seem to make sense — yet a segment of the Belgian people have protested against it with a violence which is out of all proportion to the sacrifices which are really being demanded.

The revolt — what occurred during the general strike cannot be described otherwise — had in fact few rational causes. It was the outcome of frustration, an elemental outburst of damned-up bad feelings. All that divides the Belgians (and is not very important in times of high civic morale) came to the surface: differences between Walloons and Flemish, between Catholics and anti-clericals, between republicans and monarchists. Old scores were settled all over again, like those dating back to 1950 and the disorders which forced King Leopold III to abdicate,

and others, more recent, from the bitter dispute over public support for separate schools.

There is no doubt that, in the beginning at least (for it changed its tune when the disorders got out of hand), the Socialist Party fanned the flames of popular anger in order to promote its own political ends. Turned out of power in the election of June, 1958, the Socialists seized upon a unique opportunity for bringing down the Social Christian-Liberal government coalition, and force new elections in which they could cash in on the loss of prestige of those responsible for the Congo debacle.

They could not very well have done so during the Congo crisis itself — the latter too obviously had its roots in the sins of commission and omission perpetrated by Leftists as much as by Rightist administrations in the motherland. The *Loi Unique* provided a much more useful stick with which to belabor an already discredited government.

This is not to say that much of the opposition to Eyskens' austerity program is not genuine. People who got precious little from their country's colonial possessions except the privilege of tramping as conscripts through Congolese rain forests, may rightly resent being called upon to help pay for what was lost there — in this respect, the attempt by the Government to link its austerity program to the disaster in the Congo has clearly backfired.

Nor can an unemployed coal miner be blamed for refusing to understand that he must lose the job he was trained to do because some outside body does not permit Belgium to keep unprofitable mines going by subsidies (as had been done for years). Also, the little man's argument, "You should soak the rich, not me", is as difficult to refute in Belgium as anywhere else, even if the rich are, in fact, being soaked.

At the time of writing, it looks as if M. Eyskens were about to soften the stern cure which he has prescribed for the Belgians. This may be a reasonable move for the sake of social peace in a strife-torn country, but from the Canadian point of view it would rather be a pity. We get enough economic theorizing to want to see some conclusive results from real experimentation in two so different directions as that which Belgium intends to follow and that which we are following.

There, a drastic purge of an ailing economy, here a Keynesian (or super-Keynesian?) poulticing: more public spending, more social benefits, more subsidies, less taxes, higher budgetary deficits. There are many people in this country, myself included, who would back the purge against the poultice. But it would be nice to have the purge applied somewhere so that we could see the result tangibly.

The New Party Faces the Checkoff Issue

by Frank Drea

THE CHECKOFF ISSUE is getting a good deal of attention in union-management relations these days; it is, in fact, becoming a major irritant in company-union affairs. This sudden revival of interest in the checkoff stems from the New Party which is setting out to finance itself from an automatic checkoff sanctioned by the major unions. The basic proposition is that unions affiliate in blocks with the New Party and arrange for an automatic deduction of five cents a member per month.

The basic proposal of a nickel a month for each member is tempered by another proposal that gives each unionist the right to "contract out" of the New Party, or refuse to have any of his dues money used for political purposes — a provision which thus gives union members the right to support any political party they want and is a face-saving gesture for unions that are in a ticklish spot when it comes to partisan politics, like the Newspaper Guild, provincial government employee groups and Civil Servants.

This was the same principle that had the Canadian Labor Congress itself remaining aloof from the New Party, although its top officials would be enthusiastic supporters. This would permit central labor groups to represent all their members in non-political affairs.

But the use of one checkoff to provide another sub-checkoff for an essentially Socialist Party has put new life into this

collective bargaining issue which has been a major problem in almost every industrial conflict for 20 years.

The original argument against the checkoff (where a union member authorizes his employer to deduct automatically his union dues and pay them directly to the union), was that it was not democratic because it forced workers to become unionists, regardless of personal beliefs.

This led to bitter auto, steel, electrical, rubber, logging and other strikes that were finally brought to an end by a Solomon-like formula devised by the distinguished Canadian jurist, Mr. Justice Ivan Rand. His proposal, which bears the name Rand Formula, was that all workers in a bargaining unit like Ford Motor Co. would pay union dues — but it was the privilege of each worker to decide if he would join the union that bargained for him.

In turn, this formula broadened into a variety of plans that enabled unions to derive the financial support they needed and helped eliminate the free rider, or employee who accepts union benefits but refuses to help pay for them.

That the checkoff had become almost a routine plan in contract renewals was indicated by the recent report of Ontario's Select Committee on the Labor Act, which proposed that the Government make it part of the Labor Act. Of course, this would be a voluntary, revocable type of checkoff.

This request was generated by protests of the United Steelworkers that the gold mine operators of northern Ontario were priding themselves on being the last major holdout against the checkoff and were refusing to even bargain on the point.

The first inkling of new thinking on the automatic deduction of dues came when the new Ontario Labor Act, with sweeping revisions of almost every section of the previous code, was introduced last year. Premier Leslie Frost explained carefully that the checkoff was a bargaining point and his Government did not intend to tilt bargaining in favor of either side.

Most labor spokesmen believed at the time that the Ontario Government was wary of offending the gold mine interests by forcing them to accept some form of automatic dues deduction. Now, the feeling is that the Government may have been looking ahead to a future legislative uproar over the use of union funds for partisan and full-time political activities.

Premier W. A. C. Bennett of British Columbia was the next to attack the checkoff, when his Government abruptly cut off the deduction of dues for the Government Employees Association because it was affiliated with the BC Federation of Labor, enthusiastic backer of the CCF and the New Party.

His campaign was a smashing success as the group decided not to buck the political fortunes of war and rapidly pulled out of the BC labor body, with polite regrets. Since the BC Federation was already firmly in the New Party camp, it gave them another weapon to hurl at what it considers an oppressive Government.

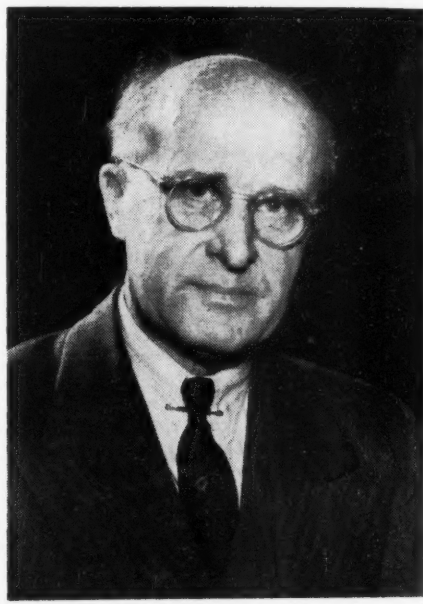
But the Bennett action also brought forth some adverse labor comment about the New Party. The Seafarers International Union, which still insists that a good deal of its difficulties with the CLC arose from the opposition of its leader Hal Banks to the New Party, noted that it had warned the political alliance could backfire.

"We don't agree with the Government for doing this," noted the SIU. "In fact we think it is wrong. But when the party you support doesn't get in, the other parties will strike back at their enemies. When they cannot deliver the vote, they will have to suffer the consequences."

However, the most disturbing portent came during some routine bargaining be-

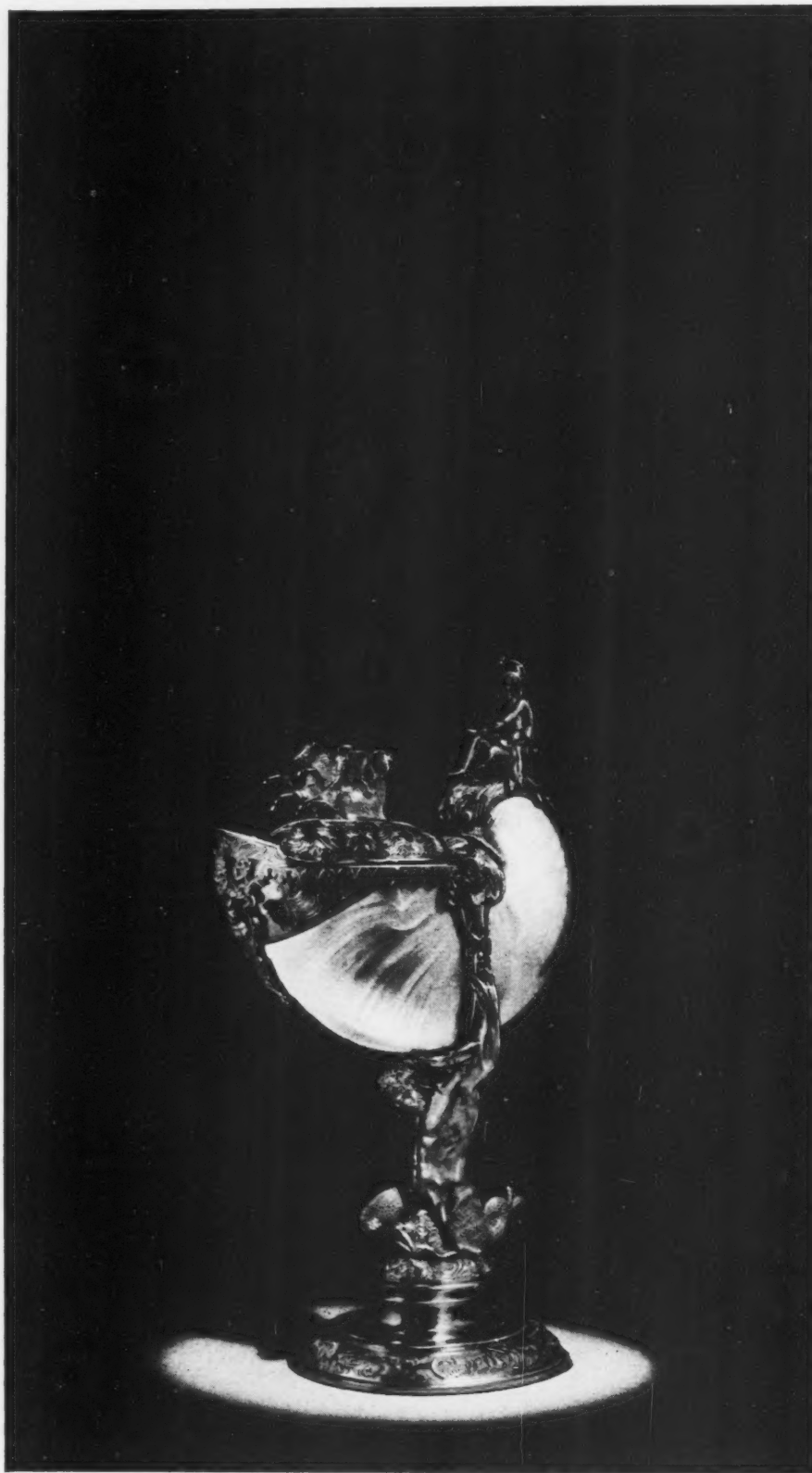


Frost: Revisions of Labor Act.



Rand: A Solomon-like judgement.

German nautilus shell cup, from Augsburg, by Daniel Mueller, 1595. Courtesy Royal Ontario Museum



Quality can be said, but how better when it is experienced



tween the Steelworkers and a firm in the Ottawa Valley. The company was refusing to continue the checkoff if dues were to be used for any political purposes—a condition that was hardly conjectural since the Steelworkers' top officials played the leading backstage roles in the original birth of the New Party idea almost three years ago in Winnipeg.

It was this situation that brought the strike threat from the Ontario Federation of Labor and the checkoff issue was eventually discarded in contract negotiations with the firm.

Labor spokesmen made it abundantly clear that they had gone through one war to obtain the checkoff and were not going to abandon it without another one.

"The dues of our members belong to us," said Ernest Briginshaw of the Steelworkers as he outlined that union's position in the Ottawa Valley dispute. "No one is going to tell us what to do with our money. Khrushchov tried to take over our unions and we beat him back. No manufacturer is going to tell us what to do with our members' money. We will spend it according to the members' wishes."

Although many employers once vowed they would never agree to an automatic deduction of union dues because it was forcing the employer to operate the union's own business, the present conflict is being discussed in much loftier terms.

Businessmen feel that many employees will not support the New Party and should not have their union dues used to further its operations. They feel that the "contracting out" or escape clause puts too much pressure on an average union member.

They feel union members may feel it inopportune to sign out of the New Party publicly and repudiate the stand of the union leaders and other rank-and-filers.

Surprisingly, there is a fair amount of criticism toward the "contracting out" proposal by labor groups, particularly the outspoken Canadian Brotherhood of Rail, Transport and General Workers, largest all-Canadian union. But that is for another reason.

The CBRT makes no secret of the fact that it will back the New Party but it feels that union members should have to sign up for their 60 cents a year to go to the party treasury, instead of only being able to sign out of a ready-made deal. It feels that the automatic contributions may make the New Party an impersonal thing to the rank and file, one of the major reasons why the CCF failed to expand with the growth of trade unionism in Canada after World War II. Officials of the CBRT think that unions would respond with a real selling job if the individual had to be convinced that he should sign up to help finance the party.

The checkoff brings some opposition from construction union leaders, (whose theories on financing the New Party are

spect anyway because most of them oppose it). They point out that "contracting out" provisions are bad for them especially since they have virtually no checkoff agreements.

The construction field prefers the traditional dues-collecting machinery, where members are responsible to pay dues promptly each month. They feel this establishes a much closer identity with the union than a deduction mark on a pay cheque. Since new members have to sign up to pay dues, they feel it may be dangerous to begin suggesting that they can sign out of anything.

"We spend a lifetime getting people to sign in and now the New Party people are proposing a signing out clause," noted a veteran construction union leader. In fairness it must be noted that he opposes the marriage of the CCF and the CLC into the New Party.

Although it is never publicly mentioned, management is less than enthused at the prospect of collecting funds for a political party pledged to more public ownership, more social services and a planned economy. Some business leaders venture off the cuff that they would be hastening their own demise by making it easier for the New Party to collect its funds, which would eventually be used against them and their policies.

Some writers have predicted the union dues monies would provide annual war chests of over \$1,000,000 to the New Party, making it what they term the most affluent of Canadian political parties. This is a debatable point since the established parties, Liberals and Progressive-Conservatives, are extremely close-mouthed about financing and annual resources and it is difficult, therefore, to establish degrees of affluence.

But even if all Canadian unionists agreed to have their unions contribute a nickel a month for them into the New Party coffers, the amount would be only \$660,000 annually. And with leaders representing more than a third of the 1,110,000 members of the Canadian Labor Congress having already signified that they are not interested in supporting the New Party, this could result in a sum of less than half a million being raised.

In fact, the affluence of unions is just another popular myth and reality shows that a nation-wide labor campaign, even for the most emotional of causes, raises just over \$500,000.

For example, the appeal for funds to carry on the Newfoundland loggers' strike in the winter of 1959, backed by an emotional appeal which convinced most Canadian unionists that they were an integral part of the strike, resulted in a little more than \$700,000. And this was bolstered by several heavy contributions from U.S. labor groups.

The present CCF-CLC campaign to raise \$250,000 for a pre-founding bank-



Newfoundland loggers' strike destroyed myth of labor unions' affluence.

roll for the New Party is not encountering rapid success. Indeed, the five cents a month figure is undergoing scrutiny from the founders of the New Party who feel the cost of running a party in modern times may result in a heavier levy being placed on unions in the near future. Many of the political veterans of the CCF are suggesting that 10 cents a member a month may be a much more realistic figure.

Despite the new concentration on the checkoff, there has been little conflict over the present practices of some industrial unions to affiliate and pay per capita fees to the CCF. Nor has there been particular scrutiny of local unions affiliating with and paying into labor council political action or education funds, which are used to bankroll labor-sponsored candidates in provincial and municipal elections.

Although the initial conflicts in this second round fight over the checkoff have been made directly, there is growing feeling among management experts that the frontal assault is not the best approach, although they insist their concern is for the protection of the rights of their employees to join — or not to join — a particular political party.

First, it could provoke a reaction from the rank and file that management is attempting to tamper or interfere with their union. Second, it could make a martyr of the New Party and provide its candidates with excellent campaign material since they could claim that business was trying to cut off funds for the people's party while donating to established parties itself.

Third, cutting off the checkoff is not the great body blow that it was once regarded. General Motors abruptly severed its checkoff arrangements with the United Auto Workers when its contract terminated in 1958 with negotiations for a new one almost deadlocked. The UAW promptly marshalled dues collectors at every gate and had remarkably good results in maintaining its revenue.

The change in the dues procedure also had the effect of strengthening the UAW bargaining position since it appeared to confirm the union's repeated contention that the auto companies were out to smash

it as quickly as possible. The rank and file took their minds off the relatively meagre improvements that Walter Reuther was able to wrest from the slumping auto firms and kept a suspicious scrutiny on the policies of the company.

One course (which is out of the question anyway) is to legislate against the use of union funds for political purposes. Putting the union treasuries out of reach of the New Party would be a heavy blow on the fledgling group. But it would be fraught with danger since labor could be expected to fire back with its traditional argument that the shareholders of enterprises are seldom consulted when it comes to using surplus company funds to finance political candidates. The union stand is that its rank and file has a much bigger voice.

But, again, an all-out public effort could backfire, particularly in a nation where campaign contributions are not too public. There is also the precedent that in the United States, business groups have not been too successful in stopping union funds from being used in political campaigns.

Unions also feel that affiliation with the New Party can only come if a majority of the members want it and to deny them rights is to impose the will of the minority. They also feel that refusal to have dues money sent to the New Party does not stamp the worker as a member of either established party.

However, a campaign to fight over the checkoff in a case where funds are going to political parties does have grave implication for Canadian labor. For it puts labor in an awkward position once a strike begins and the company asserts that the only bar to a settlement is the checkoff which will send money to a political party. But it also has implications for management and for the established parties since they could begin to be identified in the workers' eyes as businessmen's groups and not too concerned with his interest.

Despite the renewed attention on the checkoff, there is no turning back for labor as it prepares to found its new political right arm in July. Yet the indications are that labor will have to struggle with more than its own members to finance the new political venture successfully.

Chess

by D. M. LeDain

"HOW MUCH OF the fascination of Chess comes from the excitement of carrying out a purpose under opposition, a suggestion—or after-image—of difficulties in living? And how much comes from the interest in formal relations, as in mathematics, or stained glass, or arabesques?" (George Santayana).

White: A. Foguelman, Black: R. G. Wade (Buenos Aires, 1960).

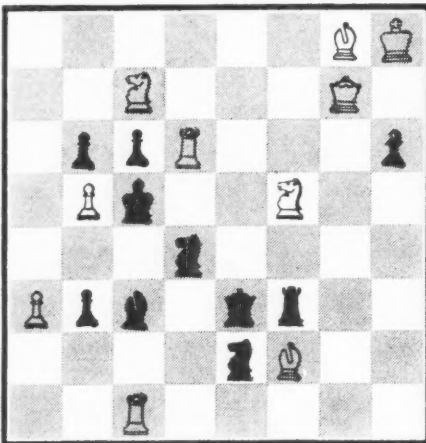
1.P-K4, P-K4; 2.Kt-KB3, Kt-QB3; 3. B-Kt5, P-QR3; 4.B-R4, Kt-B3; 5.Castles, B-K2; 6.R-K1, P-QKt4; 7.B-Kt3, Castles; 8.P-Q4, P-Q3; 9.P-KR3, KtxQP; 10. KtxKt, PxKt; 11.P-QB3, B-Kt2; 12.QxP, KtxP!; 13.RxKt, B-KB3; 14.Q-K3, BxR; 15.QxB, R-K1; 16.Q-B2, R-K8ch; 17.K-R2, B-K4ch; 18.P-Kt3, Q-B3; 19.K-Kt2, BxKtP!; 20.B-Q5, RxB!; 21.Q-K2, R-Q1; 22.PxB, Q-B4; 23.B-K4, R-K1; 24.BxQ, RxQch; 25.K-B3, RxP; 26.P-QR4, R-B8ch!; 27.K-Kt4, P-KR4ch; 28.K-Kt5, PxP; 29. RxP, R-Kt4!; 30.P-Kt4, PxP; 31.PxP,

R(8)xKt; 32.RxP, P-Kt3; 33.P-B4, R-Kt3; 34.R-R8ch, R-Kt1; 35.B-K4, RxR; 36. BxR, K-Kt2; 37.Resigns.

Solution of Problem No. 262 (Musante), Key, 1.Q-QKt7.

Problem No. 263, by P. ten Cate, (1st Prize, "Austral", 1923).

White mates in two moves. (10+10)



Puzzler

by J. A. H. Hunter

PETER PUT DOWN his book and did some figuring on a scrap of paper. "There's a lot of reading in this," he told his wife. "I think you'll enjoy it too."

"Well, don't keep me waiting too long then." Susan smiled. "How much more have you to read?"

"Nearly a hundred and fifty pages," Peter told her. "But I've just seen something quite odd about that. The first chapter starts at page thirteen, and the numbers of all the pages I've read before the page I'm on now add up to the same as all the pages I'll have to read after this one."

"What about the pages you skipped?" Susan asked him. "Anyway, you can figure those things out when you're through. I want the book."

In fact, he hadn't skipped any pages. But do you know the number of the page he was reading then? (145)

Answer on Page 36.

Guess What!

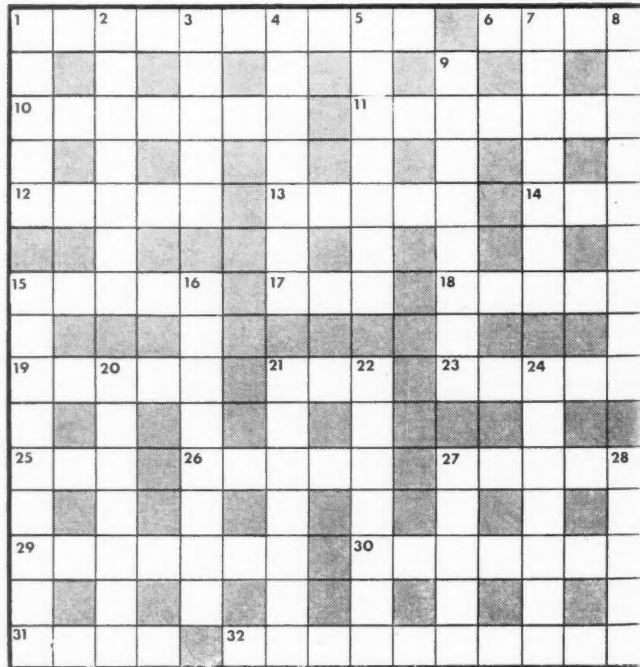
by Louis and Dorothy Crerar

ACROSS

- 1 Sailors make such old-fashioned lovers on board! (10)
- 6 One spots these in deck-hands? (4)
- 10 Is it normal for Nathan Cohen to be starting off to a Russian mountain range? (7)
- 11 See 16.
- 12 She will go forth, carrying the lot. (5)
- 13 She appeared in an American beauty contest. (5)
- 14 High, because one's friend's around? (3)
- 15 Some keep one up to scratch. (5)
- 17 "Heave-ho", said its crew. (3)
- 18 Getting five hundred ahead, would satisfy this man. (5)
- 19 Yet Duke Ellington is not this kind of man. (5)
- 21 Lady's man? (3)
- 23 Gin upsets mother internally, it appears. (5)
- 25 The hue (and perhaps the cry) of a 30. (3)
- 26 See 9.
- 27 Sounds as if the members of this assembly were not agin 'em. (5)
- 29 Cough before it but not after it, we hope. (7)
- 30 But he is not necessarily a mixture of cad and liar. (7)
- 31 The current Liszt film was one without end. (4)
- 32 Both hippopotami and dromedaries helped in the construction of this ancient race course. (10)

DOWN

- 1 It's considered good in France to go to the U.S. to get more money. (5)
- 2 Last to go around, taking a fair maid's place. (7)
- 3 The plight of a penitent? (5)
- 4 One may have to be patient with this. (7)
- 5 One would expect a 16, 11 to be sometimes caught doing this. (7)
- 7 No! I can't hold it! (7)
- 8 Throw away that golf club! (5-4)
- 9, 26 A degree of tension reached by artists who go broke painting in disorderly fashion? (8, 5)
- 15 The staff of life for tellers? (9)
- 16, 11 But he doesn't necessarily share your bed. (8, 7)
- 20 Must have been a little dizzy inside to overdress so. (7)
- 21 "Git! sez I", when the violinist appears. (7)
- 22 It's catching (but not infectious) from a returning sailor. (3, 4)
- 24 Are books bound to be from this country? (7)
- 27 This started a fashion that completely died out. (5)
- 28 A confused general fight with the General under me. (5)



Solution to last puzzle

- | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------|
| ACROSS | 26 See 28 | 8 Debit |
| 1 Streams | 27 Orange juice | 11 Pumps |
| 5 Angered | 29 Derange | 15, 13 Green |
| 9 Exterminate | 30 Raw meat | Mansions |
| 10 Dab | | 16 Malinger |
| 11 Plato | DOWN | 18 Realtor |
| 12 Lineament | 1 Sue | 19 Balloon |
| 13 See 15 | 2 Retrain | 21 Lockjaw |
| 14 Sea-dog | 3 A priori | 22 Amative |
| 17 Scribe | 4 Swilling | 23 Stood |
| 20 Ball game | 5 Again | 24 Thane |
| 23 Scarlatti | 6 Grenade | 28, 26 Eat out |
| 25 Chain | 7 Redhead | (512) |

Christmas Competition Results

ONCE AGAIN SATURDAY NIGHT congratulates its hundreds of loyal readers who entered so heartily into the Christmas Competitions published in our issue of December 24. Entries in all categories showed a remarkable increase over the previous year; as usual, the Crossword was by far the most popular with nearly 550 solutions received. The results:

Puzzler

Winner is: Frances E. Crook of MacDonald College, Que. who receives a copy of Oystein Ore's *Number Theory and its History*. Second and third prizes to: T. D. Northwood of Ottawa and J. Hodgkinson of Calgary who each receive a copy of J. A. H. Hunter's *Figures*.

Solution is: Ages 24 and 26 years.

Crossword

Winner is: Mrs. M. E. Mason of Port Moody, B.C. who receives a copy of the *Shorter Oxford Dictionary*.

Solution is: (No. 509)

ACROSS	Christmas comes but once a year
1, 30. Compliments of the season	2. Meets
9. Turkeys	3. Lists
10. Cleaner	4. Moccasins
11. Misuses	5. Nee
12. Alabama	6. Santa
14. See 1D	7. Atomic
16. Ski	8. Grease
17. Erase	13. See 1D
19. Caste	15. Spent
20. Ass	16. Sea-breeze
21. Rites	18. Attention
23. Reciter	19. Carols
25. See 1D	22. Sieves
27. Lucerne	24. Cacao
29. Avarice	25. Blade
30. See 1A	26. See 28.
DOWN	28, 26. Rat-traps
1, 14, 25A, 13.	

Chess

Winner is: Fernand Mercier of St. Jean, PQ, who receives a copy of *The Fireside Book of Chess*, edited by Irving Chernev and Fred Reinfeld.

Solution is: Problem No. 260, (L'Hermet) Mate in two moves.
Key, 1.R-K4.

Literary Competition

The macaronic carols were of such uniformly high standard that the judges had no choice but to award a prize (\$10 each) to all three printed in the adjoining column.

Special mention for excellence must also be given to: Elizabeth Grinyer, Montreal; Frances Russell, Toronto; and Geraldine Wright, Vancouver.

Chant de Noel

Merry rhymes and silver chimes
Proclaim this joyful day,
*De bas en haut, résonnent les mots:
"Le Bon Seigneur est né!"*

Then ringing, singing,
Fir and holly bringing,
Chantez d'un son joyeux!
Your voices raise
To sound His praise—
Notre Père, qui es aux cieux."

*Enfant Royal, Ton peuple loyal,
T'adore à deux genoux.
Thy infant grace, Thy smiling Face,
Kindle our hearts anew.*

Then ringing, singing, &c.

WHITBY CONSTANCE KERR SISSONS

A Macaronic Carol

Thou, who madest earth and sky,
Dors, mon p'tit enfant.
In a lowly crib dost lie
Dors si gentiment

Thou dost cry for mother's breast,
Ne pleure pas tant,
Who hast us with victuals blest,
Souris doucement.

Thou hast giv'n us life and breath,
Dieu omnipotent:
Man shall give Thee cruel death,
Viclime innocent.

Thou shalt harrow hell and rise,
Héros triomphant,
Join thy Father in the skies
Notre roi puissant.

MONTREAL C. GLEDHILL

A Twelfth Night Carol

Chantons! Chantons!
Kings' crowns and shepherds' crooks!
What did we sing there?
Printemps en hiver.

Pensons! Pensons!
Wisdom and simplicity!
What did we think there?
Printemps en hiver.

Dansons! Dansons!
Come to Bethlehem to see—
What did we dance there?
Printemps en hiver.

Voyons! Voyons!
How a baby god looks!
What did we see there?
Printemps en hiver.

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Ottawa Letter

by Raymond Rodgers

Three Premiers and the Liberal Left

THREE PREMIERS attended the Liberal Rally early in January. Newfoundland's Smallwood and New Brunswick's Robichaud were there in the flesh. The third, Saskatchewan's Douglas, was there — but in the minds of the delegates rather than in bodily form.

These three men share one thing in common: genuine and special concern for the underprivileged of Canada. The ways in which they seek to express that concern are of some importance to any understanding of the Left — nationally as well as provincially.

That all of them started from leftist premises is quite clear, notwithstanding Smallwood's recent strike-busting and the special interest both Smallwood and Robichaud show in U.S. capital. Douglas' CCF background needs no explanation.

Robichaud, by his working-class origins, could very easily have become something of a demagogue. That he did not may be attributed in part at least to the influence of Adelyra Cormier, a teacher who first focused his interest on current events and debate when Robichaud was a child.

Smallwood was, in his early years, socialist by conviction and even, it has been said, under surveillance by the RCMP. Remnants of the old days remain: he embarrassed the Liberal Rally "tories" by emphasizing social services in his speech.

He listed family allowances, old age pensions, old age assistance, pensions for the blind, unemployment insurance, hospital grants, hospital plans, veterans plans — all Liberal, he claimed. His pre-occupation is easily enough understood: 60 per cent of Newfoundland's population receives some form of welfare payment.

But despite this common concern for the underprivileged, the three premiers have chosen to express themselves in differing ways. Partly this is due to their background. Robichaud, for example, has hardly ever lived outside his province (apart from a stint at Laval). He knows little of either the practical or doctrinaire sides of the Left outside New Brunswick. And inside New Brunswick, the Liberal Party is the only "Left" that has ever existed [see box].

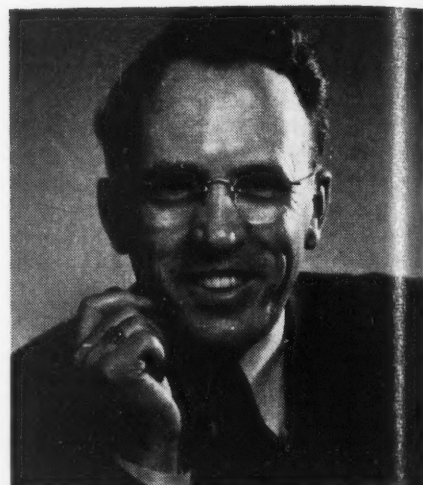
Robichaud's pre-occupations are almost entirely provincial and he emphasizes in public what he said to me in private: that he "is a New Brunswicker first and only

secondly concerned with Canadian national problems at large". (Even so, he may one day change his mind — the Liberals took good note of the way he was able to appeal to both English and French in New Brunswick's 1960 election.)

Smallwood is a different package. A former Halifax newspaperman, he has travelled far and seen much. More than most Newfoundlanders he is well aware of the existence and, as he puts it, the "greatness of Canada". He also remembers the days of Debs — the man who was going to turn North America socialist. Smallwood is primarily concerned with Newfoundland of course — but he is always willing to give the national Liberals some ammunition to fire against the Prime Minister. (By contrast, Robichaud's speech at the Rally was devoid of reference to national policies — it was pure pep).

But the real divergence between these men is in their actual provincial policies. Here we find Smallwood and Robichaud lined up on one side and Douglas on the other. Here too, though, the background of Douglas explains much. While thoroughly Canadian, he is quite conscious of his birth in Britain and his philosophic ties with the British Left.

Even though his own government is not



Saskatchewan's Douglas: On one side . .

really socialist, Douglas' heart is with the Labour Party. He would be very happy for David Lewis — bilingual union leader — to gain the leadership of the new party. All this despite the fact that Saskatchewan is more a welfare state (plus a few co-operatives and crown corporations) than anything approaching the dreams of Karl Marx.

Deep down, Douglas hopes for a strong federal government based on economic planning. This is hard to understand, since at the same time Douglas knows the Canadian working-class is not really with him.

Robichaud and Smallwood figured this all out long ago. They are convinced a workable provincial and national policy can only be conducted in the context of the prevailing North American capitalist (so-called) system. They are therefore willing to chuck out the co-operatives, the crown corporations, and even "big labor" — if that is what they have to do to attract industry.

Paradoxically enough, Douglas agrees with them in practice if not in theory.

Premier Robichaud Lays It On the Line

"LET US ALL practice and teach Liberalism."

"If this is done — and only you can do it — if this is done, there can be no question of the early return to office of a Liberal government."

"If this is done, there need be no alarm concerning third, fourth or fifth parties on the Canadian political scene."

"This nameless thing that is now referred to as 'The New Party' would remain nameless and unwanted."

"Mr. Chairman, there are no New Party jitters in New Brunswick. We have no place for political hybrids. Our political blood lines are clearly distinguished — either Grit or Tory."

"New Brunswick has never suffered

a CCF or Socred government."

"We have never had a CCF or Socred Opposition."

"Neither CCF nor Socred has ever elected even a single member to our Legislative Assembly, despite many fruitless attempts to do so."

"In fact, the candidates of both these parties have become so sick and tired of losing their deposits in New Brunswick that they did not even enter the field in last year's general election."

"There are good and valid reasons for this desirable situation."

"We learn our politics young in the Maritimes. If a boy reaches school age without establishing his identity as either a Grit or a Tory, he is regarded as a backward child."

At least this is true when it comes to attracting industry. The Industrial Development Office of Saskatchewan has been highly successful in bringing industry in — even U.S. capital. So much so that now petroleum products rank right after wheat and construction in Saskatchewan's economy.

Despite the socialist labels, Douglas has been able to convince "capitalists" that whereas Saskatchewan's Government holds out lower profit yields, her contracts are reliable over the years — as contrasted with such "high profit" areas as the Congo and Brazil. Douglas has always demanded a fair deal for Saskatchewan in any industrial give-away (unlike other Canadian governments, notably Quebec under Duplessis, which have often given away acres of wealth for a song).

Indeed, Premiers Robichaud and Smallwood — and others too — could learn a few tricks from Douglas. His initial method of making petroleum exploitation grants is a good example — each area was carved up so that private enterprise received some squares and the state the rest. This is the sort of thing that has to be done if Canadians are to benefit from their own natural resources.

And to get back to our opening theme: it is tricks like these that have the Liberals worried. Over and over again the Liberal Rally rejected the need for a new party. But in a private sort of Gallup Poll conducted throughout the Rally it became clear to me that the Liberals were really afraid of a new party *plus Douglas*.

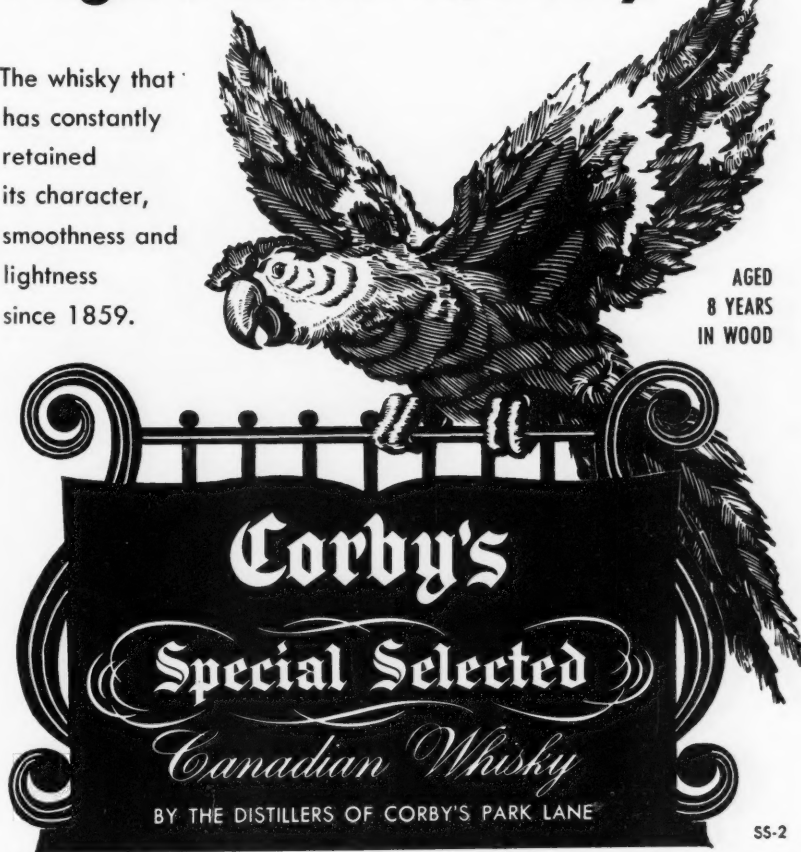
The Liberals are not too afraid of Hazen Argue nor of David Lewis. But they are definitely scared that Tommy Douglas might jump into the national political scene and pull many left-wing Liberals to his side. If that should happen, the Liberal "tories" would move one inch to the right and join up with the Diefenbaker Party. The conclusion? No more national Liberal party for Robichaud and Smallwood. They would have to start all over again learning about the Left.



Newfoundland's Smallwood: the other.

High note in Quality

The whisky that
has constantly
retained
its character,
smoothness and
lightness
since 1859.



AGED
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SS-2

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PA-30



"Q.E.D." pushes off: Marcus Long, Eva Gabor and Rabbi Feinberg.

Television

by Mary Lowrey Ross

Brightening Up the Picture

LONG BEFORE the first cat-calls had begun to die away, the promoters of Toronto's new TV station, CFTO, must have regretted a choice of slogan that left them wide open to anyone within reach of a telephone. By that time it was too late to change, since any alteration would have amounted to public admission that this wasn't "television as it ought to be"; or, worse still, that it was television as it oughtn't to be.

In any case, the claim was largely promotional, since even in its most exalted moments CFTO could hardly have expected to set any great precedents. At best, it could only follow familiar patterns, most of them beyond its control. So much must have been clear from the start.

At the same time, the CFTO promoters obviously felt that certain innovations might be worked out within the rules. How about providing the occasional recess from the familiar blackboard exercises of Canadian television? Why not close the gap between the television that informs and the television that entertains, by making the educational film amusing and the entertainment film informational?

On paper this sounds like an admirable idea. As it worked out, particularly in the opening program of *Q.E.D.* (Quod Erat Demonstrandum) it turned out to be one of the oddest balancing acts of the season.

Q.E.D. is a discussion show, with Rabbi Abraham Feinberg, Professor Marcus

Long, and Joseph McCully, Warden of Hart House, as the permanent panel. On opening night the guest star was Eva Gabor. The discussion itself ranged all the way from the role of woman in modern life to the hydrogen bomb. It turned out to be pretty solid fare, in spite of Miss Gabor, who rode it like a topping of Reddiwhip.

To brighten things up, Moderator McCully introduced the opening lines of a limerick — "There was a young lady of Ghent who lived in a transparent tent" — and asked the panel to complete it between spells of serious thinking. As might have been expected the finished limericks were only tentatively raffish, as befitted the company and the medium. They were not very funny. On the basis of this particular program one would say that solid thinking and light entertainment should be kept as far apart as possible. Quod Erat Demonstrandum.

We are not, admittedly, a volatile people and it is doubtful if the efforts to lighten our Northern temperament via television can meet with much success. "Look, we seem to be getting serious!" Host Rick Campbell kept protesting during one of the early programs of *Better Late*.

His guest of honor on this occasion was General Vokes, and it was clear from the start that the General wasn't going to make any concessions to the special de-

mands of the midnight causerie. He was genial, smiling, and severely non-anecdotal. No General could have been more solidly planted or more amiably impervious to blandishment or assault. "The General is a man of few words," Host Campbell said rather desperately, and seizing a loose chair back pretended to be playing a musical instrument. Nothing much came of that either.

There are other signs — e.g. *Lunch Party*, dominated by comedian Paul Kligman—that attempts are being made to brighten up the Canadian networks. These programs are still in the formative stage and it is hard to say how far they may go before they find their feet.

So far, they seemed to have stirred up relatively little levity, or even curiosity. No one, for instance, is likely to ask what Rick Campbell is really like, so long as he is so transparently like Jack Paar; and no one at the present stage is likely to linger over the *Better Late* show when by half a dozen hitches of the dial he can get Jack Paar himself.

One of the troubles here seems to be that this particular form of entertainment has come along just as public interest in it has passed its peak. We have been over-exposed to the midnight causerie, spontaneous and unrehearsed; so how about a little more sound rehearsal and a little less planned spontaneity?

We're not so impressed as we once were by show-business shoptalk, or by first-name calling or dropping. We're a little tired of advertisements arriving in convoys, of personalities presented as folks, folks presented as personalities, and generalities offered as depth thinking. Some of us are even a little tired of Gabors.

Meanwhile, if CFTO could come up with some arresting new comedy format or personality, it might be at least a step in the direction of television as it ought to be. Until this happens, we will probably get along as usual by borrowing from the folks next door.



Kligman, Betty Weir: "Lunch Party."

Books

by Arnold Edinborough

The Early Days in Africa



Speke: *Naked men and poisoned arrows.*

It is JUST over a hundred years since an expedition finally, after centuries of failure, penetrated to the headwaters of the Nile. Under the command of John Hanning Speke and James Augustus Grant, and financed by a grant of £2,500 from the Royal Geographical Society, it set sail from London in the Fall of 1859.

Striking inland due west from Zanzibar, the two men and their caravan progressed steadily through Tanganyika and took two years to walk every inch of the way to what is now Uganda. By this time Grant had a sore which kept him bedridden for days: Speke, though fit, was worn; most of the porters had deserted or died, and many of their supplies had either been extorted from them by hostile chiefs or merely stolen from their pathetic nightly camps. But, exhausted and sick as they were, they were also jubilant when, in November 1861, they finally entered the court of Rumanika, the King of Karagwe, the first white men ever to be seen there.

It was, as Alan Moorehead points out in his fascinating book *The White Nile*, not the most salubrious kingdom to have discovered. Rumanika, amongst other eccentricities, "kept an extraordinary harem of wives who were so fat that they could not stand upright and, instead, grovelled like seals about the floors of their huts. Their diet was an uninterrupted flow of milk that was sucked from a gourd

through a straw and if the young girls resisted this treatment they were forced . . . a man stood over them with a whip."

Six weeks march further north they came to the realms of Mutesa, King of Buganda. Here the court followed every move of Mutesa (who walked stiff-legged like a lion) and fell prostrate on the floor whenever he spoke, "uttering over and over again a curious cry that sounded like 'n'yanzig' and was meant to indicate both gratitude and the deepest humility."

When Speke presented Mutesa with a gun and showed him how to load and fire it, the king gave it to a page and "told him to go out and shoot a man in the outer court: which was no sooner accomplished than the little urchin returned to announce his success with a look of glee such as one would see in the face of a boy who had robbed a bird's nest."

But there was at least some form of social structure in these surroundings, bizarre and cruel as it was, and even the court of Mutesa must have seemed preferable when Grant and Speke pushed north again to be constantly harried by naked, painted men with bows and poisoned arrows.

Finally, when the expedition did return to England late in 1863 it was to find that their testimony as to the sources of the Nile had been challenged by Burton, a former and disgruntled partner of Speke's. Even more startling, when Speke went to debate publicly with Burton at a meeting specially arranged for the disputants by the British Association for the Advancement of Science, he was shot dead in a hunting accident a little more than twelve hours before the debate was to have taken place.

Such drama is commonplace, however, in the tangled history of the mapping of Central Africa. And in *The White Nile* Alan Moorehead, whose magnificent descriptive writing has recreated both the Russian Revolution and the Gallipoli cam-

paign in the past three years, has given the drama its full due.

Drawing heavily on the books written by the explorers themselves (as literate a bunch of adventurers as ever set their sights on the crest of the next hill), he takes us to the very centre of Africa with Baker, who was accompanied by his pretty young wife; with Livingstone, who was, for all his Christianity, saved from starvation on several occasions by the Arab slave traders, and with Stanley who found Livingstone mainly to get a scoop for his paper but also almost accidentally discovered the Congo, and proved that it was not the Nile by following its whole length to the Atlantic Ocean.

But when the exploration was finished and the interior was open, then the greed of the Arabs and the Europeans began to clash. The Arabs were determined that their age-old preserve of slaves was not to be wrested from them by the pious manipulations of London politicians and eager Christian missionaries. In East Africa alone, mainly from Abyssinia and Tanganyika, over a hundred thousand blacks per year were shipped for sale into Asia Minor and the Arab fringe of North Africa. In



Mutesa: *A shooting in the outer court.*

WAGES ARE CONTROLLED

WHY NOT PRICES ?



It's hard to raise the price of people, easy to raise the price of things. Is this why, despite the fact that many Canadians are producing more and more value at less and less cost, prices go up instead of down?

When people want to raise their price — wages or salaries — they can't simply notify their employer-buyer that the price has gone up. Employees must submit their proposals to scrutiny by government officials and, if necessary, argue their merits before a public "Board of Conciliation".

But there is no enforced delay, no argument before a public Board when large corporations increase the price of things. Customers are simply told that the price is up — pay or do without!

If government-required delays and public enquiry are necessary before Canadians can raise the price of people, why shouldn't similar delays and public enquiries be necessary before corporations can raise the price of things?

UNITED STEELWORKERS

Zanzibar, some wealthy Arab plantation owners possessed at least two thousand slaves each, of whom one third died every year through disease, malnutrition and ill-use.

Burton, writing in 1856 of the Zanzibar slave market, says that: "Lines of negroes stood like beasts . . . all were horribly thin (they had probably marched a thousand miles to the coast) with their ribs protruding like the circles of a cask." And the women being sold for prostitution had "faces like skinned apes and lean legs encased in red silk tights."

Such savagery and greed on the part of Islam sparked a holy campaign by Christian missionaries like Livingstone. And it was to stamp out the dreadful traffic that General Gordon was sent twice to Khartoum — once to colonise it and once, years later, to evacuate the garrison. This second mission he deliberately misunderstood and proceeded to become the resident governor all over again in the face of the Mahdi and his Arab revolt (one of the first nationalist movements against the Europeans to have any success in Africa).

Despite what Gladstone and his political like said, Gordon would not leave the country to revert to primitivism, and the period in which he quietly waits until, in the final battle at Khartoum, he dies with a Bible in one hand and his pistol in the other, is one of the best sections of this intriguing book.

In fact, quite apart from its excellence as an adventure story, *The White Nile* is invaluable as a text for what is now happening in Africa. For what was done by the slave traders and the more enthusiastic missionaries is still within the living memory of most Africans. It is only we in the West who have been so, preoccupied with other matters that we have forgotten about it.

Furthermore, Moorehead, like the good journalist he once was, has gone back over the territory and tried to find out what is left in tangible form of the expeditions of these great and tough men. Some of what he finds is moving: "The house where Livingstone and Stanley stayed in Tabora has been faithfully rebuilt and converted into a kind of museum . . . Someone had the notion of obtaining the facsimiles of the dispatches that Stanley wrote here for the *New York Herald* after the two men had returned from Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika and it is very strange to read the excited headlines in these surroundings: 'Dr. Livingstone found'; 'The Famous Explorer in Good Health'. The words seem to arrest time for the moment."

Some is merely factual: "(Of) Rumanika's . . . reed palace where the King used to meet Speke and Grant, and later Stanley, the compound where they watched the war dances in the moonlight, and the house of the fat wives, there is no sign whatever."

But he also found a tradition which we must, if we are ever to understand Africa, get to know about: "Not much remains of Mutesa's capital at Rubaga. Its seven hills are now the city of Kampala, and his descendant, the Kabaka Mutesa II, rules (under the British) a world of Indian shops and cinemas, of railway yards and bus stations, of Christian churches and commercial crops of tea, coffee and bananas. Jet aircraft coming in from Europe will provide perhaps for their passengers a brief glimpse of the source of the Nile at Jinja, but Jinja is a place of bright brick bungalows like any other African colonial town, and the natural fall of the river from the lake is imprisoned in concrete."

The White Nile, by Alan Moorehead — Hamish Hamilton — \$5.00.

The Best of Beaverbrook

FIRST PUBLISHED more than thirty years ago, Lord Beaverbrook's *Politicians and the War* has at last been reprinted. It remains the classic guide to the labyrinthine complications of British politics of those years which culminated in the overthrow of Asquith by the ill-assorted triumvirate of Lloyd George, Bonar Law and Carson. This struggle, which forms a convenient climax to the story, is described from the viewpoint of Bonar Law whose close friend and confidante young Max Aitken M.P. then was.

But the narrative is punctuated with those pithy, concise character sketches of which Lord Beaverbrook is such a master. We see Kitchener, looked up to as a demigod in 1914, gradually losing the confidence of his Cabinet colleagues until at the end he was only sustained in office by the sheer weight of public opinion. There is Curzon ponderously and pompously explaining the obvious at Cabinet meetings and, perhaps most entertaining of all, Churchill, whose prodigious desire to serve his country was almost entirely nullified by the intense distrust he aroused among politicians of every hue.

The exact rights and wrongs of Asquith's supersession will not be settled by this book — or any other book for that matter—but its central thesis that Asquith, although a great peace-time Prime Minister, had neither the temperament nor the inclination to be a war leader seems indisputable. Beyond that the book provides a wonderful glimpse at that blend of pomposity, principle and sheer ruthlessness which lies behind the bland exterior of British politics. R.T.C.W.

Politicians and the War, by Lord Beaverbrook — British Book Service — \$3.50.

To the Wilderness

"I SHALL GO OUT into the wilderness with my blunt sword in my hand," said David Lloyd George, speaking before a crowd of students on the Campus of University of Toronto.

It was in 1922 and the gathering, like the speech, was extemporaneous, for this was during the famous American tour when crowds materialized at the mere sound of the Lloyd George name, and people knelt — literally — before their early radios to hear the voice of the Man Who Won the War. No one doubted that he would people the wilderness, and no one suspected that the sword was already too blunt to be of any further use.

That same year he lost his leadership in the British House of Commons, and a few years later he vanished from sight. For a long time people regarded his disappearance as simply another trick of the great Welsh Wizard (Now you see him, now you don't). But the absence persisted and in the end the question, "When will Lloyd George come back?" was to change to "Whatever became of Lloyd George?"

Lloyd George, the great man's biography written by his son Richard, supplies the answer, and it is a curious variation on the Acton aphorism that absolute power corrupts absolutely. In Lloyd George's case, the power and the man crumbled simultaneously. Throughout his lifetime he had been politician, statesman, orator, national savior and public and private idol. In the end, all that remained of that brilliantly faceted personality was an aging philanderer.

Estranged from his wife and family, he went to live in Churt, his estate in Surrey, where he surrounded himself with what his son describes as "beves of female retainers" — secretaries, land-girls, librarians, filing clerks and "visitors" — including a handsome divorcee of no admitted status and a Hollywood film star. It was probably the most bizarre retirement plan in the history of British statesmanship.

"I got into lukewarm hot water one day," Richard Lloyd George writes, "when the telephone rang and I answered the inquiry to speak to the mistress of the house with the words — quite involuntary — which one?"

One doubts the "quite involuntary". There is a profound and often anguished affection in these memoirs but the affection is, as often as not, edged with malice. However dazzled Richard Lloyd George might be by his remarkable parent he was never blind to his weakness; and no matter how much he deplored his father's vanity he never lost sight of his genius.

Lloyd George himself was a paradox, impossible to live with and difficult to estimate. The self-educated foster-son of

a Welsh cobbler, he rose to be Chancellor of the Exchequer and British Prime Minister. But the courageous leader was rarely a man of conviction. The brilliant organizer and improviser, always ready to set aside precedent for the public good, was also capable of sacrificing principle for his own good.

Richard Lloyd George, who seems to have inherited his father's swift and skeptical awareness, is able here to bring into recognizable focus the great public figure and the spoiled and wilful man. It is a feat of objectivity rare under any circumstances and probably unique as between father and son. M.L.R.

Lloyd George, by Richard Lloyd George
— S. J. Reginald Saunders — \$4.75.

Morals and the Bomb

PENGUIN BOOKS are to be commended for bringing out a reprint of Robert Jungk's *Brighter Than a Thousand Suns*. This book, described in its sub-title as "The moral and political history of the atomic scientists", was first published in Germany in 1956 and then issued in Britain and the U.S.A. in 1958. During the past couple of years it has received some quite severe criticism, mostly from within the scientific community: it is impossible for a layman to assess the validity of this criticism, but the book remains one of importance even if the criticism of certain aspects of it be accepted as valid.

This book is a well-documented study of the lives and work of the scientists who did the work that made possible the A- and H-bombs. The author is a competent reporter, and he has given us a book as exciting to read as a thriller and at the same time as disturbing and as soul-purging as a great tragedy.

Here is displayed both the grandeur of science and the moral limitations and delinquencies of science. And here is a classic study of the relations between government and science in the age of nuclear physics. (General Leslie R. Groves is the villain of the piece. Perhaps Jungk is a little unfair to Groves, but he does show with shattering clarity the terrible moral ambiguities in the work of men such as Groves.)

Sir Charles Snow, who surely is qualified to comment on such things, says of this book, "This is by far the most interesting historical work on the atomic bomb that I know of." But this is also a penetrating study of modern morality — and every citizen concerned about the moral stresses of our civilization must acquaint himself with the story and the moral problems of the nuclear physicists. J.A.D.

Brighter Than a Thousand Suns, by Robert Jungk — Penguin Books — 75¢.



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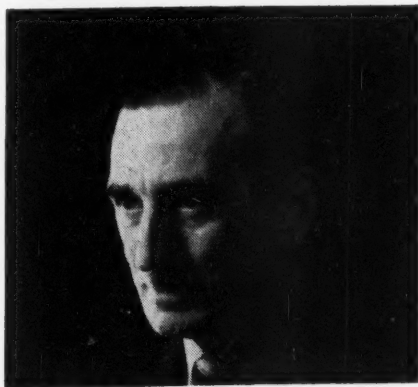
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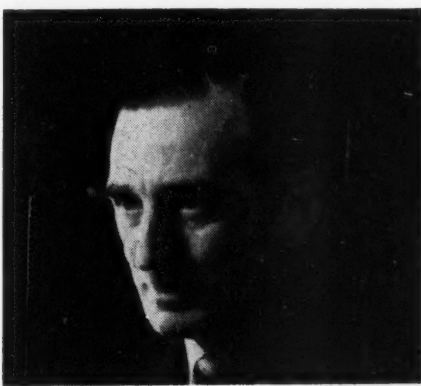
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is one of those laws which is bound to cause confusion because it is inherently ridiculous.

Well . . . isn't it? We are the toughest race of gamblers in the world (I do not approve of this fact, I merely state it.) We gamble on the Stock Exchange, on the race course, on the greyhound track; we gamble on the result of elections and the sex of royal babies; we gamble at poker, at bridge, at canasta; and one of the most fruitful sources of revenue for country churches is the money that flows in from their frequent whist drives.

And yet, adult Englishmen, congregated in their "local" — the happy breed who stood up to Hitler — will be penalized if they gamble with more than sixpence, which is the sum which has been suggested, by one of the Act's originators, as coming within the proper limits of "triviality".

This sort of nonsense makes one wonder whether there may not be some justification for the recent outburst about British hypocrisy from the explosive Miss Sheila Delaney . . . a towering young lady, six feet in height, of whom you will certainly hear more in the future, since she was born with a natural instinct for making loud noises, not only on the stage but off.

Two years ago Miss Delaney, at the age of 21, became the darling of the Dustbin School of Dramatists. She had everything that they most adore, including a Lancashire accent and a working class background. (At the time when she wrote her first hit, *A Taste of Honey*, she was an usherette.) And, of course, a fierce if somewhat superficial hatred of the Establishment—a term, which as far as I can gather, includes all those persons and institutions which prevent society from reverting to the jungle.

Miss Delaney's latest incursion into the headlines was the result of a visit which she paid to a smart West End night club after the première of her second play. Accompanied by 20 friends, including the entire cast, she presented herself at "The Talk of the Town" and was refused admission by the manager. Why? Because he didn't like what he saw. And what did he see? He saw young ladies in black stockings, with untidy hair, and young gentlemen in sweaters, without jackets. In his own words: "The scruffiest crowd you could imagine."

So Sheila had to go elsewhere, muttering dark things about "hypocrisy". She may be right and she may be wrong. When I think of that Act, I think she is right. When I conjure up those black stockings and sweaters, I think she is wrong.

London, thank God, is still a city where it is not generally considered anti-social to dress for dinner.

Medicine

by Claire Halliday

Less Light on the Subject

Flicker from sunlight can cause epileptic seizures. Children have had attacks when exposed to bright sunlight, particularly when it is flickering through blinds, etc. Looking directly at electric light or a brightly lit TV screen has also caused an attack. Wearing tinted glasses indoors as well as out has reduced the incidence. A girl of seven became addicted to epileptic fits by deliberately staring at the sun or at bright lights. These cases were reported in the June 4 issue of *The Lancet*. The flicker from helicopter blades is also considered a hazard to patients prone to epilepsy. The March issue of *Aerospace Medicine* cited cases of airmen in whom seizures were induced in this way.

Burns treated first with ice water. A doctor reported in the *J. American Med. A.* 173:1916, 1960, that he discovered the success of this treatment eight years ago when he burned his own hand with boiling grease. Plunging his hand into ice water, he left it there for an hour. There was no pain when he removed his hand and the burn healed more rapidly than he had expected. He has since used ice water as the initial treatment of 150 patients with burns of all degrees that covered less than 20 per cent of the body. Hexachlorophene is added to the ice water and no infection has occurred in patients treated within an hour after the burn.

Cholesterol symptoms reduced by exercise. Tests made on 22 healthy medical students showed that when they walked or cycled after a standard breakfast, which contained considerable fat, the cholesterol in their blood plasma was less than when they rested. The researchers published their conclusions in the *British Med. J.* of August 13th, that exercise may well be beneficial to persons inclined to atherosclerosis.

Practical aspects of smoking-cancer problem. Two doctors, who state that majority opinion favors smoking as a cause of lung cancer, offer suggestions for reducing the risk: Moderation for those who cannot give up the habit; the use of filter cigarettes with the lowest yield

of smoke condensate (which contains benzopyrene and nicotine), and avoidance of deep inhaling and of smoking down to the butt. These suggestions were published in the *Canadian Med. A. J.* of August 13, p. 35. In the September issue of the same journal, three doctors of the Dept. of Pathology, University of British Columbia, urge that an anti-smoking program be directed primarily at the age group 13 to 19.

Childlessness not always woman's fault. In about 35 per cent of cases the husband is said to be responsible. Dietary factors in male infertility are said to be an entirely fat-free diet, deficiencies of protein, vitamins and minerals, and of certain amino acids. These causes were listed in an article in *Fertility & Sterility* 11:88, 1960.

That "tooth for every baby" tale lacks confirmation in modern research but mothers who are calcium deficient during pregnancy and the nursing period do in fact give up calcium to the development of their own bones. However, the mother may not be able to supply from her own stores all the nutrients needed by her infant. Study in rats, whose diet is much like the human, shows that a severe prenatal deficiency of folic acid, one of the B vitamins, causes serious deformities in the offspring. This work was reported in *Science News Letter*, September 17.

Public warned against "Immune Milk". This product is marketed in the U.S.A., advertised as beneficial to patients with rheumatoid and other forms of arthritis because it contains streptococcal and staphylococcal antibodies produced in the udders of cows injected with these organisms. In the *Canadian Med. A. J.* of October 8, the Canadian Arthritis and Rheumatism Society warns that its therapeutic value has not yet been assessed and scientifically proved or disproved. The Medical Director of the Arthritis and Rheumatism Foundation, U.S.A. concluded that "Immune Milk" is "just the latest of hundreds of misrepresented products claiming to cure or relieve rheumatoid arthritis."

Insurance

by William Sclater

New Auto Policy

My agent tells me there is a new auto policy which will cost less but have more deductibles. What are the facts and principal differences between this and our previous coverages?—K.T., Oshawa.

The new Standard Auto Policy which came into effect Jan. 1st, 1961 in all provinces except Quebec and was accompanied by revised application forms is substantially different. There are some extensions of coverage but the principal change is the added flexibility in the Physical Damage section, according to the underwriters.

A new coverage has been added called All Perils. This is a combination of Collision and Comprehensive with a single deductible clause applying to all losses other than fire or the theft of the entire automobile. Deductible clauses applying to all losses under both Comprehensive and Specified Perils, except fire or the theft of the entire auto, have been incorporated.

It is anticipated most policies will be sold on a \$25 deductible basis, although provision is made for higher deductibles and also for full coverage. It is believed, however, that this will work to general advantage as the insurance cost of small claims is far greater than the amounts collected by the policyholder.

Extensions include application of medical payment coverage to the insured and spouse not only while driving another vehicle but also while riding in one. Garage personnel are excluded only while they are actually engaged in garage work. Temporary substitute auto coverage applies not only on Third Party liability but for Physical Damage. It also applies when the described auto has been sold and the insured has borrowed a car from the garage pending delivery of his new vehicle.

The Insurer now agrees not to subrogate against a person who may have damaged the Insured's car while driving it but this does not apply to garage people or to persons who have committed a breach of any of the conditions of the policy.

These are the major changes. Some 14 endorsement forms have been eliminated and several new ones made available. The

revised policy is the work of a sub-committee appointed by the Superintendent of Insurance for Ontario and is designed specifically to meet modern-day conditions. It has been approved by the Superintendents of Insurance for all other provinces, except Quebec.

Pension Units

Would it be possible to buy a pension from a life insurance company in bits and pieces? Some years I can afford to pay two or three hundred dollars. Other years I can afford nothing so I am not interested in any plan that would mean cancellation if I couldn't meet the payments.—R. M., Winnipeg.

Several life insurance companies have plans that would meet your need. One that comes to mind was announced recently and is almost tailor-made for your requirements. It is called a pension accumulator. It is sold in units of \$100 annual premium and you can buy any number you want up to age 65. There are discounts for quantity purchase.

Normally, retirement income would commence from 60 to 70 and the annuity values are based on a generation approach. The options include income guaranteed for 10 or 20 years and the dividends may be used to increase the amount of retirement income. It has guaranteed non-forfeiture benefits which include a waiver of premium in the event of total disability, with or without monthly income, which may be added, and a built-in benefit of a paid-up annuity.

Disability Waiver

Suppose I am unable to continue paying my life insurance premium because disability caused by accident or sickness incapacitates me. Is there any way I can meet this possible situation ahead of time by taking out insurance against that?—J.M.K., Cobourg.

Yes, you can add a waiver to your life insurance policy if you are concerned about that and can afford the coverage. Practically any life insurance company will

arrange this for you. Here, for example, is what the Manufacturer's Life offer. If the insured person contracts a total and permanent disability which lasts for six consecutive months at least, then from the sixth month the insurance company will waive all future deposits for as long as the disability exists. There is no repayment needed and does not affect any of the policy conditions.

If the waiver calls for a disability income, \$10 per month per \$1,000 of insurance will also be paid to the insured up to a maximum of \$400 per month income. For example a man age 35 could purchase this waiver on his policy on a whole life plan for say \$40,000. The premium for this would be \$160.80 per year. In the event of this disability occurring his deposits would be waived and he would receive a monthly income of \$400 per month till the age of 60. At 60 his policy would mature for the face value.

Renewable Life

Could you advise me of names of Canadian companies that issue annual renewable life insurance?—R.J.W., Lockerby, Ont.

Yearly renewable term insurance policies are issued, among others, by Occidental Life, Metropolitan Life and the Crown Life. See Stone & Cox Life Insurance tables for complete details.

Non-Profit Medical

Are there any non-profit medical coverage insurance plans available to the ordinary citizen in Ontario?—H.B., Toronto.

Yes, there are. Physicians Services Inc. (P.S.I.); Associated Medical Services; Blue Cross, and Windsor Medical are some of the individualized type of group coverage plans available in Ontario. There are many others of the County Co-Operative type and, in addition, many organizations have group coverage contracts written through insurance underwriters to give medical calls at home and in hospital, surgery and semi-private extra over ward level hospitalization of government plan. These are often associations of people in the same line of business.

Labor and industrial unions are also developing plans. Do not discount the insurance plans because of the non-profit angle. Our whole civilization is built on the private enterprise motive and plans offered by private insurers will compare very favorably for cost and coverage with some of the non-profit plans that are in operation. Competition for the public's business keeps costs down and improves services offered by the coverage.

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CO. LIMITED**

Notice is hereby given that a dividend for quarter ending February 28, 1961, has been declared on the Capital stock of the Company as follows:

First Preference Shares, Cumulative	37½ cents
Redeemable, Series "A" per share	
Second Preference Shares	59 cents
Common Shares	59 cents

The dividend will be payable March 1, 1961, to shareholders of record at close of business on the 8th day of February, 1961. The transfer books will not be closed. Payment will be made in Canadian Funds.

By Order of the Board.

R. G. MEECH,
Secretary.

Toronto, January 9, 1961.

**LOBLAW COMPANIES
LIMITED**

Notice is hereby given that a dividend for quarter ending February 28, 1961, has been declared on the Capital stock of the Company as follows:

Preferred Shares	60 cents
Cumulative Redeemable Class "A" Shares	12½ cents
Class "B" Shares	12½ cents

The dividend will be payable March 1, 1961, to shareholders of record at close of business on the 8th day of February, 1961. The transfer books will not be closed. Payment will be made in Canadian Funds.

By Order of the Board.

R. G. MEECH,
Secretary.

Toronto, January 9, 1961.

Gold & Dross

Initial Program

I have a modest sum (approximately \$1,000) with which to begin speculation in investment securities. My interest lies in the potential of growth securities on a long-range basis rather than get-rich-quick schemes. Would you comment on the relative merits of purchasing 100 shares of the new UBS mutual fund (since that amount is the minimum) as against purchasing \$250 of Trans Canada Pipeline; \$250 of CPR or Bell Telephone; \$250 of International Nickel; \$250 of B.A. Oil or \$1,000 of any one of the four? Or any other that you think as good or better from the point of view of growth potential? I am a Canadian; therefore I prefer investment in Canada. — J.S., St. Joseph, Mich.

The UBS fund was set up to attract U.S. citizens to Canadian investment, partially in the hope of realizing capital gains, which are tax-free in Canada but are taxable in the U.S.

Anyone with your sense of discrimination about investments is apparently not unqualified to invest on his own hook. We can therefore endorse the alternative investment media you mention: \$250 Trans Canada, \$250 CPR or Bell, \$250 Int. Nickel and \$250 B.A. Or, if going into one vehicle exclusively, we would suggest Bell. Capital-gains possibilities in Bell are not pronounced but income is attractive and will be augmented by occasional rights to subscribe to new stock. These rights can be sold and the proceeds treated as tax-free income.

The attractions of CPR, too, are mainly in current income. Capital appreciation possibilities exist in Trans-Canada Pipelines and International Nickel.

Trans-Mountain

Should a person follow the latest surge of strength in Trans-Mountain Pipe Line? — B.F., Montreal.

Only if he realizes he is gambling. Trans-Mountain has been an in and out of the most extreme sort. It zoomed from operating losses in the early years of 1953 and 1954 to a profit of more than \$8 million in 1957, back to a loss in 1958. Profits have been swinging higher the past two years and the brightening outlook bolstered the stock price.

Shares of TM dropped as low as \$7.75 in 1960. Then steady buying support has brought the price up again, and Bay St. kept an eye on the stock, if only because of its erratic price history.

Trans-Mountain's future is partly dependent on Ottawa's decision to build, or not to build, a Montreal-Alberta oil pipeline. If a pipeline is built, crude oil markets would be expanded toward Eastern Canada, as opposed to the U.S. west coast.

Trans-Mountain ships oil from Edmonton into B.C. and across the B.C.-Washington state border. If the Montreal-Alberta pipeline is not to be built, oil producers would instead be encouraged to expand U.S. markets, notably on the west coast. Of course, this would not overcome the basic insecurity of West Coast markets as a result of off-shore competition. This is especially keen when there is a surplus of ocean shipping.

Nickel M & S

Do you rate the chances of Nickel M. & S. as improved now that Int. Nickel (Inco) has entered the picture? Should one buy M.M. & S? — R. F., Vancouver.

Inco's entry into the Nickel M. & S. picture is apparently for the purpose of obtaining the first refusal over a 10-year period of a smelter contract in the event that N. M. & S.' nickel property at Gordon Lake, Ont. reaches production. Inco is to purchase \$500,000 N.M. & S. 1st mortgage bonds from Faraday Uranium, which has been financing an examination of the Gordon Lake property.

The transaction will enable Faraday to implement a recent agreement to advance up to a further \$500,000 for additional work and receive 1st mortgage bonds from N.M. & S. In a report of Sept. 21, 1960, R. L. Segsworth, consulting mining engineer, says in his opinion it is possible with present known reserves to visualize a successful operation at a rate of 500 tons a day. It is expected this would recover the cost of a mining plant, and leave some profit for shareholders. The consultant recommends additional underground development with a view to enlarging ore reserves, and enabling a higher rate of production with which higher unit profits could be won.

N.M. & S. is a marginal operation, and any attractions are dependent on enlargement of the ore picture. If this took place,

the equity could become more valuable. Speculative interest could be fanned if good drill holes were reported. N.M. & S. can be regarded as not uninteresting from the standpoint of the gambler, although the market doesn't rate the chances of spectacular developments highly.

Dominion Magnesium

Can you explain the low price of Dominion Magnesium considering its assets and the fact that 1960 operations apparently have a good chance of resulting in a profit? — K.G., Windsor.

Sentiment plays an important part in market appraisals and, despite the improvement in Dominion Magnesium, the picture is hardly bright enough for sentiment to improve. Additionally, the situation has a somewhat limited interest because of 27.1% of the outstanding 476,200 shares being in the hands of one holding company and another block of 80,000 shares in a second holding company. Appeal is limited to seekers after long-term speculations. The stock is intrinsically cheap since working capital at the end of 1959 exceeded \$6 a share vs. a recent market price of \$7.

The company is the country's single magnesium producer and 1960 operations were an improvement over 1959 and 1958 when net losses of approximately \$600,000, after depreciation of \$300,000 to \$400,000, were shown. In fact, 1960 may actually show a net profit. Sales were expected to reach 16 million lbs. of all products vs. 13 million in 1959, and 14 million was expected to be magnesium vs. 10 million.

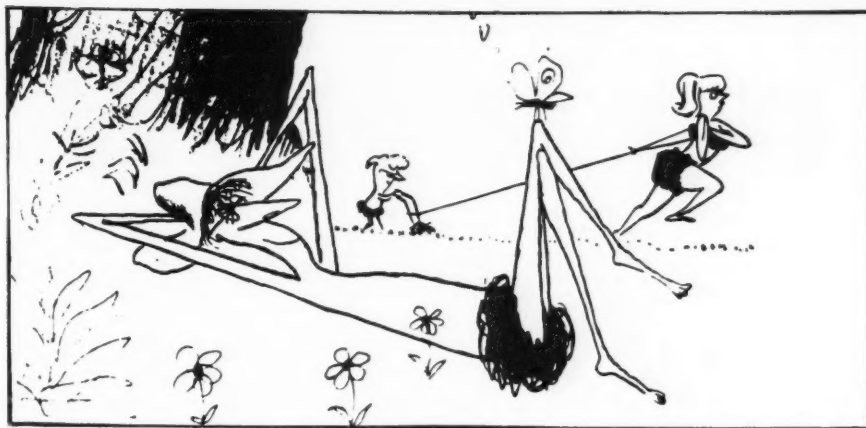
What has lessened the impact of larger sales on earnings is increased wages, higher hydro costs, the possibility of a rise in rail rates, plus more competitive markets. The main market is the UK and, while a preferential tariff has been enjoyed, this may be affected. Norway is becoming more competitive, and has a production capacity of 14,000 metric tons of metal a year.

McIntyre Porcupine

Would you recommend a purchase of McIntyre Porcupine as a holding-company stock? — S.P., Ottawa.

We would recommend McIntyre mainly as a mining company which is well-heeled to undertake a search for new mines as a result of appreciation in blue-chip U.S. stocks into which it put its surplus gold-mining profits some years ago.

It has been converting U.S. holdings into Canadian issues and now owns large interests in Algoma Steel, Ventures and Mattagami Lake. Algoma is the nation's second largest steel company, Ventures is



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Note to Landlords: This year, for the first time, these loans are available to owners of rental properties including apartments.

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FARMERS — Inquire about Government-backed Farm Improvement Loans available through your bank up to \$7,500 and with up to ten years to repay. Loans for equipment, livestock, as well as a wide range of home improvements.

a holding company controlling Falconbridge Nickel and Mattagami Lake holds a large and promising zinc-copper property.

Production, which commenced in 1912 at the original Porcupine gold mine, continues at the rate of 750,000 tons of ore per year, with ore reserves equal to about three years supply. The mine is showing lower operating earnings and has weakened with depth but ore potential is being followed up. In the meantime 4.5 million tons of 1.01% copper and 0.016 oz. gold have been indicated by drilling in the upper reaches.

Financial position a year ago consisted of \$938,270 working capital and security holdings with a market value of \$75 million. Outstanding are 2.3 million shares, market valuation of which has tended to ignore the Porcupine mine, although it is by no means dead.

Indicated dividend is \$1 a share, following a three-for-one split last year. Although the dividend was not covered by earnings in the first nine months of 1960, it should be safe in view of the large surplus.

Considering financial position, interesting holdings and aggressive outside exploration policy (expenditures on this in 1959 exceeded \$500,000) the shares warrant consideration as a speculative investment.

Interprovincial Pipe

I have been considering putting some spare cash into Interprovincial Pipe Line and would appreciate a rundown on the same. — A.J., Perth.

Interprovincial Pipe Line has been a major beneficiary of the discovery of oil at Leduc, Alta. in 1947. This has resulted in integrated oil companies pouring thousands of millions of dollars into development to make the country self-sufficient in petroleum products. Crude-oil production rose from 12 million bbls. in 1948 to 184 million in 1959, and 200 million bbls. is indicated for 1960. Canada is the world's second-ranking nation in per capita oil consumption; demand is projected as doubling in 10 years.

I.P.L. in 1950 completed what has since become the world's longest crude-oil pipeline. It extends from Edmonton, Alta. to Toronto, a distance of 1,930 miles, and is flanked by a second line from Edmonton to Superior, Wis. Besides crude oil the company may yet transport liquid by-products of gas wells. It is making an intensive study to determine how these products may best be handled through its system.

Crude-oil deliveries of IPL will in 1960 increase about 3% over 1959, having averaged an estimated 347.2 thousand bar-

rels daily for January-October vs. 336.7 thousand for the 12 months of 1959 and trending higher for December. Deliveries for 1959 totalled 122.9 million bbls. versus 109.5 million in 1958, reflecting a 23% increase in deliveries to Ontario, partially as a result of special types of crude, which replaced foreign supplies.

Capital structure comprises 5.1 million shares, of which 2.14 million are owned by oil companies, and \$152 million funded debt. Net profit for 1959 was \$15.6 million, or \$3.08 a share, reflecting net earnings of \$45.5 million. Depreciation was \$8.7 million, and interest was \$4.8 million. Funded debt was reduced during the year by \$6.5 million. Working capital was \$8 million.

Profits were a little better in 1960. Indicated dividend on I.P.L. is \$2.90 a year, providing an attractive income whilst hoped-for appreciation is awaited.

Opemiska

What caused the fall-off in Opemiska earnings for the third quarter? — M.J., Vancouver.

Opemiska's third quarter of 1960 resulted in a net profit of \$500,668, equivalent to 9.1 cents per share, bringing total net profit for the first three quarters to \$2,727,940, equal to 41 cent per share. The mine operated at the close to capacity rate, but grade of ore handled was down somewhat and lower copper prices resulted in a downward revision in estimated value of outstanding smelter settlements.

In Brief

What caused the slide in Placer Development profits for the October quarter? — A.E., Saskatoon.

Failure of two gold-dredging subsidiaries to pay dividends in the period, also a 7% dip in revenue of Canadian Exploration as a result of a strike at Bunker Hill smelter compelling it to stockpile lead concentrates.

When will Sigma commence work on new low levels? — T.U., Halifax.

Probably early next summer when shaft deepening is complete.

How soon does the Emergency Gold Mining Act expire? — B.P., Edmonton.

Extended this year to cover calendar years of 1961, 1962 and 1963.

Any chance of iron-ore prices being boosted in 1961? — P.S., Calgary.

Very remote.

Any activity at Osisko Lake? — F.R., Vancouver.

Hasn't been heard from for quite a while.

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Point of View

Canada Isn't Ready for a National Theatre

by Kenneth Shorey

"BAD THEATRES are as mischievous as bad schools or bad churches," wrote Bernard Shaw, "for modern civilization is rapidly multiplying the class to which the theatre is both school and church."

The Canada Council has enthusiastically endorsed the idea of a National Theatre for Canada, to be completed in 1967. It is intended that the opening "be supplemented by appropriate religious services of thanksgiving, parades, tattoos, fireworks, and dancing in the streets." In the face of this interesting announcement, it can only be said that a subsidized pipe-dream is not a satisfactory answer to the Canadian theatregoers' prayer.

Much and all as we may sometimes feel we could break eggs with a big stick or set the St. Lawrence on fire if given half a chance, this absurd attempt to saddle Canada with a manufactured National Theatre must be challenged. If not, it will be regarded as a sort of after-joke, when we "laugh but smile no more."

There is, in this neck of the North American woods, a situation compounded of materialism on the one hand, and something which may only be described as a form of Victorian provincialism. Naturally, it is having its effect upon any attempts, however serious, to establish theatres. But to found a theatre, and to found a theatre company are not at all the same things.

The ideal company cannot, of course, exist. We are romanticising the idea too much if we suppose that it can. Something on the order of an Elizabethan Fellowship of Players may or may not be desirable, but surely the emergence of a theatre company with a national identity must follow an upsurge of nationalistic feeling and of artistic output. To create one overnight is impossible.

And yet, to await the signs of such an upsurge is to wait on history, and history is not concerned for the length of individual human lives. If we follow the trend set for us by the establishment of the Canadian Theatre Centre in Montreal, we run the very serious risk of institutionalizing ourselves right out of existence.

What is required for the establishment of a National Theatre? First, a theatre-building, twenty plays, a great director, and a company of our finest actors. (The companies of Moliere or of Copeau might

be taken as a model). The unsuitability of Stratford supplying any of these elements has already been widely discussed. How often have we been able to say of a Stratford production that we have seen the play as Shakespeare wrote it, *interpreted and commented upon in Shakespearean terms applicable to today?*



Edmonton: All-purpose is no-purpose.

If we think in terms of a smaller theatre, the Crest in Toronto also remains unsuitable. Any theatre manager who proposes to satisfy all of the people all of the time is simply flying in the face of Aesop. It must also be remembered that the Crest is not a particularly "Canadian" theatre. Although the management may seek to employ a predominance of Canadian actors, the nationality of the performers does not guarantee the content of the drama.

When Murray Davis ventured tentatively into the business of maintaining a semi-permanent company in "Canada's Only Repertory Theatre", his critics were transformed instantly into snarling masks of animal hatred. "The Crest is cutting down the number of jobs available . . . The work is no longer spaced out over a wide group of actors . . ." So much for the thought of a permanent company in Toronto then.

The second requirement of our

theoretical National Theatre will be a *fixed policy*, on a par with the Malraux Theatre Plan, addressed to the patrimony of Canadian genius, neglected masterpieces, major modern works, translations of outstanding foreign plays, and the staging of a reasonable number of contemporary dramas rejected by the straight commercial managements. Until the advocates for a National Theatre can encourage the right sort of new plays to be written (and Stratford playwrighting contests are not enough) they will have to content themselves with Shakespeare and the Elizabethans, Moliere, and whatever else they can manage to scrape together in the *Commedia dell'Arte* tradition.

Let the musicals and the shoddy Canadian revues continue, by all means, for they present an aspect of *true* theatre from which something durable may emerge later. (All this in the interests of a popular audience it must be understood).

It is the theatre workers themselves who are unready to provide us with a National Theatre in six years' time. The brutal fact is this: it is becoming increasingly difficult to be able to say that the function of the artist is as necessary to the wholeness of a society as the function of the business or professional men. In fact, Canadian artists seem to be leading an almost entirely irrelevant existence today.

In the opinion of John Hirsch, director of the Manitoba Theatre Centre, the youthful corps of actors in this country is characterized by a smug, complacent, cynical attitude . . . indifferent toward the general state of Canadian theatre and interested only in the intangible "big break" which more than likely will never come. The opinion is more than justified.

Perhaps the builders of the Queen Elizabeth Theatre in Vancouver or the Edmonton auditorium, or the O'Keefe Centre in Toronto were aware of this and accordingly designed stages to accommodate road tours of performing white elephants. In any case, the fact remains that an all-purpose theatre is a no-purpose theatre, and until the requisite Canadian talents have been found — (not only the right actors but the right plays, and a popular audience) — Canada will just have to muddle along somehow without a National Theatre.

ANSWER TO PUZZLER

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